ol. XCI, No. 6 December, 1934

The Ecclesiastical Review

Monthly Publication for the Clergy Cum Approbatione Superiorum

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PUBLISHED BY BOARD OF TRUSTEES
OF THE
AMERICAN ECCLESIASTICAL REVIEW
FOR
THE CATHOLIC UNIVERSITY OF AMERICA

PUBLISHED
113 E. Chestnut Street
Lancaster, Pa.

1722 Arch Street
PHILADELPHIA

GENERAL OFFICES
1722 Arch Street
Philadelphia, Pa.

Copyright, 1934. American Ecclesiastical Review

Subscription Price: United States and Canada, $4.00—Foreign Postage, $1.00 additional
Agents { Great Britain: Burns, Oates & Washbourne, Ltd., 43 Newgate St., London, E. C. 1, England.
Ireland: Veritas Company. Ltd., 7 & 8 Lower Abbey St., Dublin
Australia: W. P. Linehan 244 Elizabeth St., Melbourne, Victoria.
Entered, 2 July, 1904, as Second Class Matter. Post Office at Lancaster, Pa., under Act of 3 March, 1879
March 5, 1930, under Act of February 28, 1925

[Title-page, Contents and Index to Volume XCI go with this number.]

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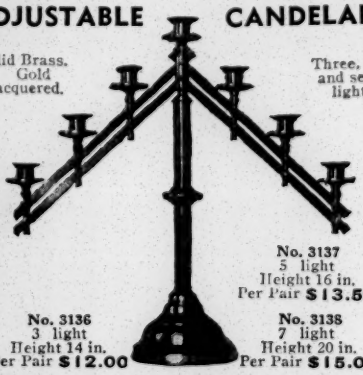

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THE ECCLESIASTICAL REVIEW

TENTH SERIES.—VOL. I.—(XCI).—DECEMBER, 1934.—No. 6.

THE ROMAN CENSUS AND THE BIRTH OF CHRIST.

PROBABLY the greatest feature of the Gospel according to Luke is the historical setting in which he places the birth of Christ. We are naturally very anxious to know the date and circumstances of the birth of great personages. In Mark's history of Christ the events surrounding the birth of Christ are omitted. John narrates them only in mystical language, while Matthew does not lay quite enough stress on the historical background. But Luke is very thorough: he tells us that Christ was born at the time of the first universal enrolling, under Caesar Augustus, Quirinius the Governor of Syria, and Herod, King of the Jews. He further tells us how Jesus came to be born in Bethlehem instead of Nazareth; he tells us that Joseph and Mary were called there by the nature of enrolment.

Liberal critics have accused Luke of putting the birth of Christ into a false setting. In so doing they are questioning the most valuable asset of the entire gospel and it is the purpose of this paper to examine the accusations. The main lines of argument are the following, which I take from the scholarly work of W. M. Ramsay, *Was Christ born at Bethlehem?* but abridged to a certain extent:

1. It is declared that Caesar Augustus never ordered any general enrolment or census to be made of the whole Roman world.

2. It is declared that even if Augustus had ordered an enrolment of the Roman Empire it would not have extended to Palestine, which was an independent kingdom and not subject to orders from Augustus.

3. It is asserted that even if a Roman census had been held in Palestine there would have been no necessity for Mary and Joseph to go up from the City of Nazareth to the City of Bethlehem, inasmuch as a Roman census would be made according to existing political and social facts, and would not require that persons should be enrolled according to their place of birth and origin.

4. It is maintained that no census was held in Judea until A. D. 7-6, on the ground that the Great Census (Acts 5 : 37) is described by Josephus as something novel and unheard of, rousing popular indignation and rebellion on that account.

5. It is affirmed that Quirinius never governed Syria during the life of Herod, for Herod died in 4 B. C., and Quirinius was governor of Syria later than 3 B. C. Therefore a census in the reign of Quirinius could not be associated with the birth of a child " in the days of Herod, King of the Jews ".

It can be easily seen that these statements stand in flat contradiction to the words of Luke. If they be true, the words of Luke are untrue.

Some have conceded the claims of the critics and admitted that Luke erred, excusing him on the fallibility of human nature. But in fact such a procedure would affect seriously the credibility of St. Luke.

In these five verses Luke is treating of historical events of far-reaching importance. If he is unreliable in these, in what is he reliable? If he " who has attained to all things diligently," erred in dating a census which was put into execution throughout the length and breadth of the Roman Empire, how can we believe anything from his pen? Does he merit the name of an historian who tells us that Palestine was enrolled under a Roman decree, when as a matter of fact this territory was not subject to Roman authority, or who mistakes a provincial for a universal census? What authority should be given the man who speaks of tribal enrolment under Roman law when Roman methods were used exclusively? Finally, how could a scientific historian misplace a census and a governorship by ten years? If these claims be true, one of two conclusions is inevitable. Either the author is utterly deceived or he is a downright deceiver. In either case his work deserves

only to be relegated to the scrap-heap of fiction. Whence may be seen the importance of examining these claims. It is not merely the concern of the truth or falsity of one single passage; it is the concern of the life or death of a whole Gospel and, what is more, of one of the four greatest works ever placed in the hands of man.

Before we begin to examine these claims in particular, we must remember that the presumption stands in favor of Luke. The passage under consideration has been accepted as true for nineteen centuries and will continue to be held as such until proved otherwise. It was accepted by scholars and men in general of the early church who were in a far better position to verify facts than are we of the nineteenth century. It was attacked by neither Jew, pagan nor heretic who left no stone unturned to destroy the claims of the Church and the authenticity of her sacred writings. It has come down through the centuries as historically true and stands before the tribunal of history as such until proved otherwise.

The Decree of Augustus.

The first element which Luke introduces into his historical setting is a universal enrolment in the reign of Caesar Augustus. Herein lies the first great objection raised against the historicity of Luke's Gospel. Critics failing to find a direct statement of such an enrolment in profane history have boldly declared that no universal census took place at this particular time. They base their argument on the silence of history.

It is well to note at the outset that the *argumentum e silentio,* always a dangerous and delicate one, is especially invalid in this case. History has little to say on the later years of the reign of Augustus. A veil hangs over the entire period from 15 B. C. to the beginning of the reign of Tiberius A. D. 14. Nothing save a few dynastic matters are mentioned by Suetonius and Velleius. Tacitus contents himself with "some particulars relating to Augustus, chiefly toward the close of his life". In Dio Cassius, the period from A. U. C. 748 to A. U. C. 752 is wanting. As an example of the obscurity of this period there is one Flavonius who is known from a fragment to have held highest offices in the last years of the reign

of Augustus. Were it not for the discovery of this stone his name would have remained unknown to history. In such circumstances it is easily seen that an argument drawn from the silence of history cannot be of any great weight.

Before any accusation is brought against Luke's account let us first see what he says and let us be careful not to make him say more than he actually does say. The decree of Augustus of which Luke speaks (2 : 1) is commonly understood as ordering one single enrolment to be made throughout the entire Empire. It is in this manner that the Vulgate understands the decree, "And it came to pass that in those days there went out a decree that the whole world should be enrolled" (2 : 1). However, this is not the correct reading of the Lukan text. As Ramsay remarks, "he uses the present tense (απογράφεσθαι πᾶσαν την οἰκουμένην), and he means that Augustus ordered enrolments to be regularly taken according to the strict and proper usage of the present tense. What Augustus did was to lay down the principle of systematic enrolment in the Roman world, not to arrange for the taking of one single census."

Luke states merely that the principle was laid down. This he says and nothing more. He says nothing about its universal execution. Very probably Luke did not know whether it was universally carried out or not. At any rate it was a matter irrelevant to his narrative. Moreover, it is possible that it was not put into universal execution. It is not hard to understand how a momentous task of this nature might be frustrated in many parts of a territory so vast as the Roman Empire. As it was a novel undertaking, its framers could have overlooked many obstacles which would render its universal application impossible. Hence if we find no traces of a universal enrolment in the age of Augustus, this still is far from contradicting Luke's narrative.

Luke, however, implies that this principle was executed in the East at least for a time; for he says, "This enrolling was first made by Cyrinus, the Governor of Syria." Evidently there was a series of periodic enrolments in Palestine; otherwise he would not designate this particular census as the "first." That a series of such enrolments took place throughout the length and breadth of the Roman Empire we have no direct proof; nor have we any direct evidence that there was a series

of enrolments in Palestine. We say "direct" because we have historical evidence which leads us indirectly to the conclusion that enrolments such as described by Luke were actually made in the Roman Empire under Augustus.

Our evidence is based upon Egyptian census papers known as the "Apographai," which have been discovered in recent years by scholars on archeological expeditions in Egypt. These papers show that a principle of periodic enrolments, following a cycle of fourteen years, was executed in Egypt under the Roman régime from the year A. D. 20 to the year A. D. 328. This is not to say, however, that these enrolments began in A. D. 20 and ended in A. D. 328. It was only by chance that these papers, fragmentary in form, were discovered. There are still many gaps to be filled. Now here we have a series of enrolments taken at definite periods in Egypt under the Roman administration. Historical evidence of the first order brings the enrolments to the year A. D. 20. Now what is the logical conclusion? The student of history would not hesitate to reply that this system was inaugurated under Augustus.

Considering the administrative ability and achievements of Augustus as extolled by a host of historians, this seems to be the one logical conclusion. Suetonius testifies [1] that in the year 27 B. C., when Augustus was about to tender his resignation to the senate, he laid before them a "rationarium," a "statistical account," "a general survey of the whole empire," "a sort of balance sheet published periodically." Again, after the death of Augustus, Tiberius called for a like document which had been compiled by the very hand of Augustus. In the words of Tacitus [2] "he called for a state paper and ordered it to be read. It set forth an estimate of the empire and its resources, the number of its citizens, the allies of Rome, an account of the naval strength, the names of the conquered kingdoms and provinces; the subsidies, tributes, and the amount of revenue with the necessary disbursements of government and the demands of secret service." This is sufficient to show the method and care with which Augustus administered the Roman Empire. Hence, finding as we do a principle of per-

[1] *Aug.* C. 28.
[2] *Ann.* I, 2.

iodic enrolments at work in Egypt in the year A. D. 20, with no evidence to show that it was introduced in that year, Augustus, it seems, would be the logical originator of the policy.

Now as to the universality of these enrolments—does history testify that the decree of Augustus was put into execution in the entire Roman Empire? Certainly the "rationarium" and the "state paper" of Augustus, of which we have already spoken, would demand a universal census. Even in our present day with our highly developed forms of national, state and city government, an annual census is deemed necessary to get an estimate of the wealth of the nation and the number of its citizens. How then would it be possible for Augustus to give such a minute account of the Roman Empire, the number of its citizens, the amount of tribute and revenue—of a vast and varied Empire embracing all kinds of peoples and extending from Gaul to Africa, Britain to Persia—except through the medium of a census, universal in scope?

Palestine: Part of the Roman Empire.

The second objection raised against Luke's account of the birth of Christ runs as follows: it is declared that even if Augustus had ordered a census of the whole Empire, such a census would not have extended to Palestine, which was an independent kingdom and not subject to the orders of Augustus. No one would attempt to deny that Judea enjoyed a species of independence at this particular time. She was ruled over by Herod, a native king, and only became a Roman province in A. D. 7. However, whether or not she would have been subject to a Roman census is another question. Both Jewish and Roman authorities would lead us to believe that Judea was considered an integral part of the Roman Empire and as such would be subject to a universal enrolment.

We know with certainty that the Jews were conquered by the Romans under Pompey in 63 B. C., and from that time on remained as Roman vassals until Judea became a Province in A. D. 7. Josephus testifies to this fact. "He [Pompey] made Jerusalem tributary to the Romans. . . . Now we lost our liberty and became subject to the Romans." Now if Judea was a tributary of Rome and the Jews were Roman subjects,

as Josephus explicitly states, does it not seem very probable that they would be subject at least to an enrolment of the empire? If the Jews were Roman subjects, surely Judea must have been considered part of the Roman Empire and as such would be included in a universal census.

Moreover, Josephus tells us that King Herod courted the Romans, introduced their luxurious ways of living into Judea, built a theatre and an amphitheatre and "appointed solemn games to be celebrated every fifth year in honor of Caesar".[8] Being aware of the natural hatred of the Jews for the Gentiles, it is hard to understand how the Romans with their ways of living, their theatres and their games, would be accepted in Judea unless the Jews were Roman subjects. Moreover, why should Herod appoint games to be celebrated in honor of Augustus unless he were subject to him? This is the tribute of a subject to a sovereign.

Even granting that under normal conditions the Jews would not have been subject to such a Roman decree, it is possible to point out a period when it can be said with almost absolute certainty that this census would have been applicable in Palestine: the period of enmity between Caesar Augustus and Herod. Josephus summarizes the letter of Augustus which brought about this break in friendship in the following words: "The sum of the epistle was this: whereas of old, he had used him as a friend, he would now use him as a subject." Augustus could have found in subjecting the Jews to the enrolment a means of expressing his feelings toward their king. Whether or not Augustus so acted we do not say. We have merely pointed out a time during this period when a Roman decree would have been applicable in Judea: and that is sufficient to clear up the difficulty.

Not only the Jews but also the Romans considered Judea a part of the Roman Empire. We have the authority of Strabo, who can be accepted as a reliable witness of Roman opinion in general. Writing in A. D. 19 he divides the Roman Empire into territories governed by Roman governors and nations ruled over by semi-independent kings. The Empire as such he distinguishes from the non-Roman and barbaric world. He expressly states that within the Roman Empire

[8] *Ant.* XV, VII.

were included not only those territories ruled over by Roman governors but also those governed by native kings and dynasts. In the last chapter of his geography he includes in the Roman Empire the Kingdom of Mauretania which was ruled by King Ptolemy. If Strabo looked upon all semi-independent kingdoms under Rome as part and parcel of the Empire, surely then he and those whom he represents must have considered Judea as the same.

Mark Antony's way of acting, probably even more than the words of Strabo, show the intimate union of these semi-independent kingdoms with the empire. Mark Antony seems to have exercised almost absolute authority over the subject kings of Asia Minor. He set them up and degraded them at will. He demanded of them tribute and military service. Appian[4] includes Herod among those subject kings paying tribute to Antony. It cannot be assumed that Augustus abandoned this suzerainty over these eastern kingdoms after the defeat of Mark Antony. Hence it would seem that when an enrolment of the empire was decreed it would have extended to Palestine, which was considered by both Jews and Romans as part of the Roman Empire. As a minimum of conclusion, it would seem that history does not preclude the possibility of a Roman census being applicable in Judea.

Granting that the Jews were to some extent Roman subjects, some may ask what would be Rome's object in subjecting the Jews to an enrolment or any other territory not properly a province. This could be understood after Palestine became a Roman Province in A. D. 7; but what reasons can be assigned for numbering the Jews previously? The reasons are found in the Roman policy of incorporation.

It was a Roman policy in widening the boundaries of the empire to proceed slowly, out of regard for the particular character of the people. When the people were of an unruly nature, when they clung steadfastly to their native customs and traditions, the Romans deemed it prudent to allow them to retain their own native rulers for a time, gradually introducing Greco-Roman culture and ideas. When the inhabitants were sufficiently Romanized they were incorporated into a neighboring Roman province.

[4] *Bell. Civil.*, v. 75.

Now this policy was found at work in Judea between the year 63 B. C. when it was taken by the Romans, and A. D. 7 when it was incorporated into the Roman Empire. The Jews as we know were a very unruly people and would never have submitted to immediate Roman rule. They were allowed their own native rulers for a time and all the while Romanizing influences were at work. Under Herod Roman culture, games and theatres were introduced. Finally in A. D. 7 the final step was taken: the Jews were incorporated into the empire, being united to the province of Syria.

It was with a view to this incorporation that this decree was extended to Palestine. Before taking Judea formally into the empire it was necessary to know to what extent the people were Romanized. This could be ascertained by allowing the people a choice between their traditional tribal method and the Roman system. Those willing to accept Roman authority would enroll according to the Roman method and in this way they could determine whether or not the Jews were ready for Roman rule. Moreover, it was necessary to know the military strength of the Jews in the event of a rebellion. The Jews were a very unruly people and an outbreak could be expected on any step toward incorporation, as actually happened in A. D. 7. It would be useful also to know their military strength in case their assistance should be needed. Antony demanded military service of the Jews and we have no reason to believe that Augustus did not intend to do the same.

The Journey to Bethlehem.

Luke is again violently attacked for introducing the tribal method of enrolment into a Roman census; things which have been supposed contradictory. In his historical setting of the birth of Christ Luke has Joseph and Mary ascending to Bethlehem, there to be enrolled as members of the house and city of David. In attacking this element of Luke's narration the critic not only questions the historicity of a single verse but he eats right into a vital part of the entire setting. It is due to this forced return of Joseph and Mary to their native city that Jesus is born in the prophetical city of Bethlehem and not in his home at Nazareth. "And thou Bethlehem of Juda art not the least among the princes of Juda: for out of thee shall

come the Captain that shall rule my people Israel." On this passage too hangs the visit of the Magi, the flight into Egypt and the slaughter of the innocents. Moreover, if such a method be entirely out of place in the Roman scheme of things, what faith can we put in anything Luke says? Either he is ignorant of Roman procedure or dishonest. But is the tribal system wholly inconsistent with Roman methods? Let us examine.

No evidence of the census methods employed in Augustan times survives. However, the papyri, now in the hands of English scholars, show conclusively that numbering by household was not a thing wholly inconsistent with Roman enrolling. Among the papyri are found census papers dating from the third century and covering a period of several hundred years. The enrolments which these papers record were conducted according to household in Egypt under Roman domination. Moreover, we have evidence that in the second century the prefect of Egypt issued an edict calling all to their homes for enrolment. Archeological discoveries likewise attest that the magistrate of Mesembria summoned the population into the city for the census. These magistrates were acting under Roman orders and as representative of the emperors. Now if this was the *modus agendi* of the Romans in Egypt in later years, we have no reason to assume that it was not the same in the entire East and in earlier years. Furthermore, this method was not something new, introduced into Egypt at a late date; papers attest that it was in existence in Ptolemaic times.

It would be an error to suppose this to have been a concession on the part of the Romans. It is merely a particular application of a far-reaching principle of Roman rule. Among the Eastern peoples there has always been (and there still is) a strong attachment to home, traditions and customs. The tenacity with which these people cling to their customs and traditions is strikingly illustrated in the concessions which the Church has made to the Oriental rites. The Romans did not try to destroy or discourage these things; they utilized them, built on and around them.

When critics object to the tribal method as part of the Roman census scheme, they are taking their conception of Roman procedure from its application in the West. But the

Roman rule was applied differently in the West and in the East. In the West the Romans were dealing with barbarous peoples with no positive law, customs or traditions. In the East they had to deal with nations as proud as the Greeks and as ancient as the Jews and Egyptians. These were peoples with legal forms, sacred traditions and longstanding customs, which had to be respected if any rule was to be successful.

Zulueta, in his essay *De Patrociniis* [5] brings out very clearly this principle of Roman respect for domestic attachment: "The government held in reserve a more far-reaching principle, which was asserted whenever political or economic troubles threatened to bring the industries of the country to a standstill. This was the principle that every man has a (personal attachment to the home and soil of his birth) a place of origin in which he had his proper sphere of activity and to which he could be held in public interest." In the face of this evidence it is hard to conceive how any one could call Luke to account for having insinuated that the tribal numbering had place in the Roman scheme of census-taking.

The Romans had another reason for employing this system among certain peoples. As every student of history knows, the Romans worked with a remarkably small personnel in every department. Their staff of soldiers even in times of peace was insufficient to protect the Roman roads against brigands. Had they employed the bureaucratic system, an enormous staff would have been required. Moreover as the Romans encouraged intercourse there was always a moving population which could not be counted at any one moment. The only practical way then was the household system. The work of counting was placed in the hands of the household heads. A year was allotted for the returns, allowing the people living at a distance time to get to their native city.

Presence of Mary on the Journey.

Granting that the tribal method was worked into this first Augustan enrolment of which Luke speaks, what could have been Joseph's object in taking his spouse with him. "And Joseph . . . went up . . . to . . . Bethlehem . . . to be enrolled with Mary his espoused wife who was with child." At

[5] Oxford Studies, 1909.

first sight this question might seem of little importance, yet it is vital to Luke's history of the birth of Christ; for it explains how Christ came to be born in Bethlehem. But the difficulty is not very serious; one can draw logical conclusions almost at random.

The first reason that suggests itself is that the law demanded the presence of the entire family at the place of registration. This is very probably the true reason. In Egypt the women also were required to be present at the place of enrolment. This is the reason Wilken gives for the presence of Mary on the journey. Mary could have been present either as a member of the house of David or as the official wife of Joseph. But, as Lagrange says, it is more probable that she went as the official spouse of Joseph.

Religious or personal reasons could also account for Mary's going to Jerusalem. In such cases it must be remembered that childbirth was not always considered the major operation it is looked upon in certain places to-day. The present seriousness of giving birth seems to be an outgrowth of modern conditions. We know of a woman of Bethlehem in our own times who went out to gather an armful of wood and gave birth to her child on stooping. She returned with the child in one arm and wood in the other. It is a well known fact that among the poorer classes you will find women giving birth to a child on one day and doing a washing on the next day. On the other hand you have the society matrons who convalesce for months after such an ordeal. The seriousness of childbirth is only relative. Hence it is not hard to understand how a pregnant woman could undertake a journey in those days when it was esteemed quite an ordinary thing.

In all probability the census was held in the autumn of the year. The reason for this was to avail themselves of the movement of the people toward Jerusalem for the feast of the Tabernacles when all were required to be in the Holy City. This movement of the people to their place of origin would be largely southward in the direction of Jerusalem, for the dispersion was mainly to the north. Hence if Mary was not required by law to be present in the place of enrolment it could be that she had religious obligations to fulfil in the Holy City. If not obligations, even personal devotion might bring her, as we know she was a very pious Jewess.

Again, Mary maintained close relations with her home, which was located in or near Bethlehem. After the Annunciation the Blessing Virgin hurried home to announce the joyful tidings to her relatives. It might be that Mary accompanied Joseph to avail herself of the opportunity of visiting her relatives. At any rate, this objection offers so many plausible solutions that it cannot be seriously lodged against the historicity of Luke.

The Enrolment of A. D. 7.

In the year A. D. 7 an enrolment was made in the province of Palestine under the direction of Quirinius. From the Jewish historian, Josephus, we learn that this census was accompanied by rebellions, seditions and other violent demonstrations of popular indignation. From these premises it has been concluded that a Roman enrolment in Palestine was something new and unheard of. Great reasoning is not required to perceive that this is a flat denial of the census mentioned by Luke in connexion with the birth of Christ.

When the critic raises this objection he is not standing on what can be called solid ground. Because I become indignant toward a person who violates my rights, may one conclude that this is the first time that my rights have been violated? It does not necessarily follow that because the census of A. D. 7 was accompanied by demonstrations and indignation that it was something novel. There could have been others, likewise accompanied by outbreaks, of which historians do not speak. Hence the argument falls back to the " argumentum e silentio," always a weak and dangerous argument. It probably did not occur to the critic that perhaps it was the specific nature of this census that was new and unheard of in Palestine. But so it seems to have been.

In B. C. 63, Jerusalem was conquered by the Romans under Pompey and from that time on the Jews remained as vassals. Rome was too much of a diplomat to deprive immediately the Jews of their liberty; they allowed them for many years to enjoy nearly all the liberties of a free nation; they retained their own government, their king and their own army. Tribute and military service were seldom required of them. During all these years, however, it seems there were Roman

forces at work among the Jews Romanizing them and preparing them for the day when they would be solemnly incorporated into the Roman Empire. This day came in A. D. 7 when Palestine was made a part of Syria, a Roman province. The Jews were now direct subjects of Rome. A representative of the emperor administered Palestine, holding the *jus gladii,* and demanding tribute for Caesar. It was on the occasion of the enrolment that the Jews gave vent to their pent-up feelings aroused by this act.

Some have argued that after the incorporation, among other things, the method of enrolment was also changed, the Roman system being substituted for the Jewish. Luke speaks of the tribal method as being used before Palestine was received into the empire. The tribal method was conducted by the heads of the families. It is possible that after the incorporation the bureaucratic method was introduced and conducted by the Romans. This might account in some way for the indignation of the Jews. Moreover, it is not hard to understand how an Asiatic could become enraged at a Westerner prying into his family secrets, such as the number of his children, his lineage and the value of his property, and all this was a view to taxation. Hence the demonstration can be accounted for not in the newness of the census itself, but in the novel nature of the census, its being conducted by Romans according to Roman ideas.

Others hold that the census of A. D. 7 was one of the periodic enrolments decreed by Augustus. It was the second of the series and was conducted according to the same method as the previous one. Whether this was a periodical enrolment or not we must remember its relation to the incorporation of Palestine into the empire. This relationship makes the second essentially different from the first, not in method but in specific purpose and requisites. Here we have not only the counting by households but the evaluation and inquisition which were required for administrative purposes in a new province. It was very probably these two latter elements which caused the disturbances mentioned by Josephus. Inquiries into private affairs, as we have already said, were very offensive to the Asiatic mentality and society. Moreover the valuation of domestic property with a view to taxation by a foreigner would

stir the hatred and indignation of any people. It is not the fact that a Roman census was never before conducted in Palestine that accounts for the demonstrations, but the introduction of new elements.

Why then should any one hold that because the enrolment of A. D. 7 was accompanied by outbreaks and rebellions, one must necessarily conclude that a Roman numbering of the Jews was novel and unheard of, when either the change of method or the introduction of new elements amply explains the demonstrations?

Governorship of Quirinius.

The final and the greatest of these difficulties arises from the simple statement that "this enrolling was first made by Quirinius, governor of Syria". It is objected that Quirinius never governed Syria during the lifetime of Herod, since Herod died in 4 B. C. and Quirinius was governor of Syria only after 3 B. C. Therefore a census under Quirinius could not be associated with the birth of Christ, "in the days of Herod, king of Judea".

Some are quite willing to concede that Luke erred by the brief space of one or even several years and are quite as willing to pardon him. But these do not go far enough; they forget that there is a question of not only a chronological error but of the confusion of two essentially different things. If Luke has erred chronologically, he has also confounded a decree, universal in scope and time, and a particular application of this principle. Hence we who claim the highest merit for Luke as an historian are unwilling to admit, at least *a priori,* any such gross error.

Lagrange offers a very simple, yet plausible, solution of this difficulty through the medium of exegesis. He translates as follows: "This enrolling was made *before that* which took place under the governorship of Quirinius." The Greek permits this translation. When the text is interpreted thus, the difficulty vanishes into thin air. In A. D. 7, when Palestine was incorporated into the empire, Quirinius, as governor, conducted an enrolment of the province. In the East this enrolment was widely known both on account of the solemn act of incorporation concomitant with it and the rebellion which ac-

companied it. Hence it is not entirely inconceivable that Luke would designate the numbering connected with the birth of Christ by its relation to the enrolment under Quirinius in A. D. 7.

It would not be prudent to confide too much in this solution. However, there still stands a possibility and even a probability that this is what the author intended and hence it is highly unjust to condemn a man for having said something when you are not sure that he said it.

Tertullian says that Jesus was born when Saturninus was governor. Would not this incline one to believe that Tertullian knew of a manuscript of Luke in which Saturninus was named as the governor under which the census connected with the birth of Christ was made? The action of a copyist substituting the name Quirinius for " Saturninus " can be easily explained. Supposing the second verse of the second chapter read " This enrolling was first made by Saturinus, the governor of Syria." The copyist is familar with the census of A. D. 7, which is recorded by Josephus. He knows also of Quirinius's connexion with it. He concludes, after consulting the scanty documents of that early period, that the census of A. D. 7 was the one during which Christ was born and that Quirinius and not Saturninus was the governor. He replaces the name " Saturninus " by " Quirinius." This is not an entirely unheard-of thing in the history of scriptural manuscripts.

But let us take the text in its present accepted reading. " This enrolling was first made by Quirinius, the governor of Syria." History, far from contradicting this statement, is ready to supply evidence to show that such a census, in the days of Herod and in the governorship of Quirinius, is highly probable. The evidence is almost conclusive that (1) Quirinius was twice governor of Syria and (2) that his first governorship was during the lifetime of Herod, i. e. before B. C. 3.

The first conclusion is based on a fragment discovered in Tivoli in 1764, an ancient Roman tablet known as the " Inscription of Tibur " which was found during an archeological expedition. It is at present preserved in the Lateran Museum of Christian Antiquities. To understand the evidence of this fragment we must study the life of Quirinius as outlined by Tacitus.

After his consulship in 12 B. C., Quirinius lead an army against the Homonades, who killed a subject king of Rome, Amyntas, in 25 B. C., and who were ever threatening the inhabitants of Syria and its environs. The fact that the punishment of this race was delayed to such a late date shows that they must have been a ferocious, warlike and almost unconquerable people. The crime was committed in A. D. 25 and they were subdued by Quirinius only sometime after his consulship, which lasted until 12 B. C. The war must have lasted a number of years, for the location of the tribes was very mountainous and of high altitude, free from snow for only a few months of the year. Hence we can easily imagine that great honors were bestowed upon Quirinius after successfully undertaking this stupendous task. He was later proconsul in the East (A. D. 4) with Gaius Cæsar.

To return to the Tiburtine fragment. It commemorates some unnamed official of the Augustan period and reveals six facts: (1) that the one commemorated had some relation with a king; (2) that he conquered a nation; (3) that he was reawarded with two "supplicationes" and "the ornamenta triumphalia"; (4) that he governed Asia as proconsul; (5) that he twice governed Syria as proconsul, and finally (6) that he lived during the reign of Augustus and survived him. We have the authority of no less an historian than Mommsen that this fragment is a memorial to Quirinius.

To bring out the force of this evidence more strongly let us compare the facts given by this tablet with those narrated by Tacitus. The tablet tells first that the one commemorated was a Roman official who lived during the reign of Augustus and survived him. According to Tacitus, Quirinius was raised to the dignity of the consulship by Augustus and on his death Tiberius (successor of Augustus) requested that a public funeral be decreed to him. The unnamed one commemorated had relations with a king and conquered a nation and was rewarded with two "supplicationes" and "the ornamenta triumphalia". Tacitus says that Quirinius, "having stormed and taken the strongholds of the Homonades in Cilicia . . . obtained triumphal honors". The inscription says the one commemorated was proconsul in Asia; Tacitus relates the same of Quirinius. In the light of this minute concordance it is

inconceivable that any one with an open mind would deny that the unnamed official of this tablet is Quirinius; and this with the authority of Mommsen.

If this Augustan official commemorated in the fragment is Quirinius, as is almost universally admitted, then Quirinius was twice governor of Syria. We might stop here, seeing that the fact that Quirinius was in office twice destroys the foundation on which this difficulty stood. The critic objects on the ground that Quirinius was governor only after 3 B. C. But if he ruled twice, it is very probable that his first governorship was during the life of Herod, as Luke says. At any rate when history is ready to testify that Quirinius was twice in office it goes a long way from denying the fact that Quirinius was governor during the lifetime of Herod.

Here the question arises; in what year shall we place the first term of Quirinius? At first blush it would seem that we must place the office in B. C. 10 or at the earliest in B. C. 9. Quintilius Varus was in office at the death of Herod in B. C. 4, for it was he who quelled the disturbance that followed Herod's death. Coins found at Antioch attest also that he was in office in B. C. 7. The term of office was ordinarily three years; so we may suppose that his term began in 7 B. C. His predecessor was Saturninus, who was also in office during this year. Hence it would seem that Quirinius's first governorship must be placed in 9 B. C. This squares with the testimony of Tertullian; Saturninus's office beginning in the middle of 9 B. C., and Quirinius's ending in the middle of 9 B. C., both Quirinius as (Luke says) and Saturninus (as Tertullian says) could be said to have been governors during the year of the enrolment. (We must remember that a year was given for the household enrolments to be completed.) Ramsay, with the evidence of an inscription found at Antioch, holds that there were two "legati" in office at the same time. He holds that Quirinius and Saturninus were in office together in the years 9 and 8 B. C. He further supports this date by the census periods.

This may be the true date, though it seems very improbable that Christ was born at so early a date. Luke in the third chapter, verse 1, states that Christ began His public life in the fifteenth year of the reign of Tiberius. Now Tiberius's

reign began 10 A. D. If Christ began His public life in about His thirtieth year (Luke 3: 23), He must have been born at the latest in 3 B. C. The decree of the enrolling might be placed as far back as 4 or even 5 B. C. But to put it back as far as 8 and 9 B. C. seems to disrupt the harmony of the text.

Thanks to an inscription copied by Ramsay at Antioch in 1912, we can produce indubitable evidence of the presence of Quirinius in the East.

G. Carista nio	To Gaius Caristanius
C. F. Ser. Front(oni	Son of Gaius, of Sergian Tribe Fronto
Caesiano Jul io	Caesianus Juli us
Praef(ecto) fabr(um) pon tif (ici)	chief of engineers, pontifex
sacerdoti, praefecto M. Servili	priest, prefect of
P. Sulpicii Quirini duumviri	P. Sulpicius Quirinius duumvir,
praefecto M. Servili.	prefect of M. Servilius
Huic primo omnium	to him first of all men
publice de(ecurionum) d(e-creto) statuta posita est	at state expense by decree of the decuriones, a statue was erected.

It is generally admitted that the governorship of Quirinius is in some way connected with his conquest of the Homonades. According to the inscription, Gaius Caristanius, whose family is known to have played an important rôle in Antioch from other inscriptions, was the prefect of Quirinius, magistrate (*duumvir*). The office of *duumvir* was an honorary one conferred on emperors and distinguished Romans and occasionally on others of high distinction. Of the latter, Quirinius is an example. We know from Tacitus that Quirinius was a man of very humble origin. How then can his appointment to this high honorary office be explained? How do we explain his appointment in this remote colony of southern Phrygia or southern Galatia? Everything becomes clear when we remember that Quirinius conducted the war against the Homonades. Antioch was the fortress that defended the surrounding colonies from the inroads of the mountain tribes. After the stupendous task of conquering these ferocious tribes it is not difficulty to understand Quirinius's appointment to the seat of government at Antioch.

It is probable that Quirinius came to Syria in 11 B. C., immediately after his consulship. The war would have required at least two years. The country in which the tribes dwelled was mountainous and they lived in villages (*castella*), which had to be captured one after another. In these Taurus mountains the winters begin very early and remain late. This campaign must have required at least two summers. The third year was spent in reorganizing the reconquered territory and in planning the Pisidian colonies. As Quirinius was occupied *per Ciliciam,* Saturninus was sent to administer the domestic affairs of Syria and Palestine, as Josephus points out. Hence the enrolment must have been in some way under his charge. This explains why Tertullian places the enrolling under Saturninus. However, Quirinius was in military command and for the Romans a census always held a military significance. This is why Luke says, "this enrolling was first made by Quirinius, the governor of Syria."

The command of Quirinius lasted from 11 to 9 B. C., possibly a year longer. Saturninus held office from 9-6 B. C. We must place the duumvirate of Quirinius any time between 9 and 7 B. C. But this still does not quite harmonize with the fact that Jesus was "about in His thirtieth year," in the fifteenth year of the reign of Tiberius.

Working on two conclusions drawn from this inscription it would not be difficult to place the date of the first governorship of Quirinius somewhat later: (1) that the office of Quirinius was duumvirate in form, and (2) that the first office of Quirinius was during the lifetime of Herod. We may easily suppose that the war began three or four years later or that it lasted three or four years or we might suppose that Quirinius was in office for a period longer than usual. We might also suppose that the war began a year later, lasted a year longer and Quirinius's term was extended by one year. This would bring his term down to 4 B. C. Since his office was duumvirate it could have overlapped that of Varus. In this way all things are in harmony: Herod is King of the Jews, Quirinius is governor, and Christ, being born in 4 B. C., would be about in His thirtieth year in the fifteenth year of the reign of Tiberius.

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"MY SACRIFICE AND YOURS."

AFTER the washing of hands in the present Roman Mass and immediately before the "secret" prayers, the priest turning toward the congregation says *Orate fratres*—"Pray, brethren, that my sacrifice and yours may be acceptable in the sight of God the Father Almighty." This formula is not very ancient and its terms have varied, but it embodies a thought which, I fancy, was much more immediately present to the minds of the laymen who assisted at Mass fifteen hundred years ago than it is now. The Mass was a banquet as well as a renewal of the sacrifice of Calvary: it was a meal to which all had contributed in common. Though one presided and in some sense played the part of host, for he officiated in the "breaking of bread" and it was for him to distribute the viands, still he was not there exactly in his own private capacity. He was a deputy, or more correctly a proxy, empowered for that occasion to discharge the functions of the Saviour Himself. But banquet there could not be without guests. Every such feast (*convivium*) was, though in an inoffensive sense, a convivial assembly, where those who partook thereof embraced each other with the kiss of peace, and for a time "lived together" in joyous harmony. Moreover in this case the guests defrayed the charges and provided the substance of the meal. They had, supposing certain formalities to have been observed, a right to be present. Their participation was as essential to the primitive conception of such a reunion as that of the officiant himself.

It is far from being the purpose of this paper to propound a new theory as to the essential nature or the mystical significance of the Holy Sacrifice of the Mass. I am inclined, indeed, to think that the conception involved in "the breaking of bread" deserves more attention than it has commonly received. The phrase is made so prominent in the New Testament especially in the Acts of the Apostles, it recurs so pointedly in the Didache, it has inspired so very early a fresco as that of the "Fractio Panis" in the catacomb of St. Priscilla, and it seems to be so closely connected with the institution of the "Agape", the love feast, that we cannot treat it as of no theological importance. But the point I am anxious to insist

on is that this same vivid memory of the Lord's Supper survived at least vaguely after the Eucharist had ceased to be associated with an actual meal and that we probably owe to this source the rule of fasting before Communion, a practice which, in spite of relaxations in almost every other observance, still holds sway throughout the Church.

Let me begin with what is commonly quoted as the 28th decree of the Council of Hippo (A. D. 393).[1] It is couched in the following terms:

> That the sacraments of the altar be not celebrated by any but those who are fasting, the one anniversary day being excepted when the Lord's Supper is celebrated; for if a commendation service is to be held for any dead person, (whether for bishops or others) in the afternoon, it must be done only with prayers, if those who do it have already taken food.

It is necessary, I fear, to quote the Latin original, for the exact terms are important.

> *Ut sacramenta altaris non nisi a ieiunis hominibus celebrentur, excepto uno die anniversario quo cena dominica celebratur: nam si aliquorum pomeridiano tempore defunctorum, sive episcoporum sive caeterorum, commendatio facienda est, solis orationibus fiat; si illi qui faciunt iam pransi inveniuntur.*

That this is an authentic enactment, ratified more than once by conciliar assemblies in the African province of Byzacena during the lifetime of St. Augustine, is nowadays contested by no one. Whether it emanated from the Council of Hippo in 393 and whether the terms just quoted are exactly those in which the decree was originally framed is not quite so certain. But it was at any rate approved in this form by the bishops at Carthage in 397 and again in 418 or 419, and it has been preserved to us without substantial variation in many collections of early canons.[2] It is, so far as is known, the earliest enactment which has any direct bearing upon the question of fasting Communion.

[1] In other collections this canon is often numbered 32. The statutes passed at Hippo will be found in Mansi, *Concilia*, III, 917 seq.

[2] See the table printed by Maasen, *Geschichte der Quellen . . . des Kanon Rechts*, p. 159, and cf. Hefele-Leclercq, *Conciles*, II, pp. 83, 103, 205, etc.

What, however, is precisely the meaning of the clause "Sacramenta altaris non nisi a ieiunis hominibus celebrentur"? There seems to be a disposition to limit its application to the priest or bishop who actually offered the Mass. Baronius summarizes it as enjoining that only those who are fasting should *offer* the Holy Sacrifice, and the index reference to it in the disquisition of the brothers Ballerini implies much the same. Such summaries as those of Hefele and his translators cautiously retain the word "celebrate", e. g. "the sacrament of the altar shall always be celebrated fasting"; but certain Anglican divines interpret the decree with less reserve. Thus Bishop John Wordsworth remarks that "the rule of fasting celebration is older than its canonical assertion for *celebrants* in Africa", evidently implying that the Fathers of Hippo had only directly in mind the priest who offered the Mass; and this is also the view taken in Bishop Kingdon's book *On Fasting Communion.*[3] Dr. Percy Dearmer is still more explicit and tells his readers: "This canon of Hippo, then, concerns the celebrant only. Augustine does not venture to tackle the laity yet; though in his letter to Januarius eight years later (A. D. 400) he quietly sweeps the laity in by using the word received (*'a ieiunis semper accipitur'*) instead of celebrated (*'celebrentur'*) as in the canon."[4]

Dr. Dearmer, as the rest of his book more fully shows, plainly accuses St. Augustine of prevarication. The saint, he says, while knowing quite well that the fast before Communion had first been imposed at Hippo in 393 and that it only concerned the actual celebrant of the Mass, pretended a few years later in his letter to Januarius, that every one who received Communion (apart from that one day in the year, Maundy Thursday) was bound to come fasting, and that this custom was universally observed throughout the world. Now a brief study of the phraseology of the Hippo canon will, I think, show that Dr. Dearmer's interpretation is entirely erroneous. So far from limiting the obligation of the fast to the clergy or to the officiant alone, the decree imposes it upon all who even

[3] See Wordsworth, *The Ministry of Grace*, pp. 319-320, and Kingdon, *Fasting Communion*, p. 286; and cf. pp. 58 and 66.

[4] Percy Dearmer, *The Truth about Fasting* (1928), p. 68. St. Augustine's letter to Januarius is printed in Migne, *P. L.*, vol. XXXIII, cc. 199 seq.

assisted at the Holy Sacrifice, whether they did or did not receive Communion. According to the terminology then prevalent the liturgy was "celebrated" not merely by the priest and the ministers of the altar but by all the worshippers present. They brought their offerings and they made answer to the priest in chorus.[5] It was their sacrifice as well as his, just as at a banquet it is not the host alone who feasts, but all who sit at table.

Before we come to consider this more in detail one word must be said about the exception made for Maundy Thursday. As St. Augustine explains at length in the letter to Januarius, it was still the custom on that day, under the influence no doubt of the passage in St. Paul's first Epistle to the Corinthians (ch. 11), to celebrate the liturgy in the evening, and the Eucharistic fast was not then insisted on. There were people, possibly Priscillianists, who wanted to make a similar exception for a Mass of requiem offered on special occasions in the afternoon, but the canon of Hippo decided that only that portion of the holy rite which is now commonly spoken of as "the Mass of catechumens", consisting of prayers, psalms and lessons, could be permitted. The "Mass of the faithful", involving as it did the consecration of the Eucharist, could not be tolerated when those who took part in it had broken their fast.

My contention, then, is that the phrase, "ut sacramenta altaris non nisi a ieiunis hominibus celebrentur", means that not only the officiant priest or bishop and the ministering clergy but all the laity who by their presence took part in the Mass were required to fast. Let me point in the first place to the curious indefiniteness of the words "a ieiunis hominibus", an indefiniteness or comprehensiveness which was retained when the canon was translated into Greek nearly three hundred years afterward at the Council of Trullo. The word *hominibus* (persons) was, it seems to me, used intentionally because it was meant to include both sexes. If we look at the other decrees of Hippo which refer to the clergy, we find that the precise standing of those affected is in every case clearly indicated. Canon 8 speaks of accusations made against

[5] See especially G. Nickl, *Der Anteil des Volkes an der Messliturgie im Frankenreiche* (1930), pp. 15-32.

"priests or deacons"; Canon 11 enacts that "the sons of priests or of clerics" are to have nothing to do with stage spectacles; Canon 15 forbids "bishops, priests and deacons" to act as business agents for private individuals; Canon 24 lays down that except by the express direction of a bishop or priest, virgins and widows are not to be visited by clerics and those pledged to celibacy. Why then in Canon 28 should we suddenly come upon so general a phrase as *a ieiunis hominibus* if the injunction applied only to those who were capable of offering the Holy Sacrifice? It would have been quite simple to write *clericis* or *presbyteris* instead of *hominibus*. A century or two later at the Council of Mâcon (585), as we learn from Gregory of Tours, this very point came up. There was a discussion about the framing of a particular decree and one bishop raised an objection to the use of the word *homo* on the ground that they meant to include women and that a woman could not be called *homo*. This incident was the origin of an absurd fable that the Church in the dark ages taught that women had no souls. We know from Gregory of Tours that at Mâcon the other Fathers convincingly refuted the objector. None the less, to avoid ambiguity, a decree, which was probably the one concerned, was passed in this form: "we enact that upon every Sunday an altar oblation both of bread and wine must be made by all, both men and women". I do not doubt that the phrase *ab omnibus viris et mulieribus* replaces the word *hominibus* which was originally proposed. But the author of the Athanasian Creed suffered no such hesitations when he wrote "all men (*homines*) shall rise again with their bodies".[6] He certainly did not intend to exclude either the female sex or the children.

Again, if the 28th canon of Hippo was understood to apply only to the clergy, it is difficult to believe that St. Augustine only seven years later would have used the language he employed in the letter to Januarius above referred to. He wrote that "it had seemed good to the Holy Spirit that out of respect for so great a sacrament the Lord's body should enter the mouth of a Christian before other food". He implies that this had been determined, not by the assembly of Hippo,

[6] Gregory of Tours himself (*Hist. Franc.*, VIII, 20) describes Queen Ingoberga as "hominem timentem Deum".

but by the Apostles themselves, having in mind, as he mentions later on, St. Paul's words in I Cor. 11: 33-34. In any case he clearly states that the custom of fasting before Communion was observed throughout the world. Could he possibly have written so if it were known to his correspondent as to himself that the practice was an innovation introduced in Africa a little time before? The saint plainly says that St. Paul fixed the rule, and that while other customs differ from country to country this observance of the Eucharistic fast shows no variation.

Still more to the point is the fact that the word *celebrare* in contemporary usage was a vague term which meant no more than to practise religiously or observe faithfully. We must altogether get rid of the inferences suggested by the modern connotation of "celebrant" and "celebration" in connexion with the Mass. Both St. Augustine and St. Jerome frequently use such phrases as *celebrare orationes, celebrare litanias*, etc. An African canon of about this date speaks of "celebrating", i. e. duly observing, "prayers and impositions of hands". In St. Cyprian a century and a half earlier we read how, "when we come together with the brethren and celebrate the divine sacrifice with the priest of God ('et sacrificia divina cum Dei sacerdote celebramus'), we must be careful to observe modesty and order". It is clear that in the mind of St. Cyprian it was not only the priest and his ministers who "celebrated".

A particularly illuminating passage occurs in one of the sermons of St. Caesarius of Arles. It runs thus:

> For if you pay diligent attention you will see that the Mass does not consist in the recitation of the scriptural lessons in church ("quia non tunc fiunt missae quando divinae lectiones in ecclesia recitantur"), but in the offering of the gifts and in the consecration of the Body and Blood of the Lord. For as for the lessons, whether they be from the prophets or the epistles or the gospels, you can either read them yourselves or hear others read them in your own homes; but the consecration of the Body and Blood of the Lord you can neither hear nor witness anywhere else but in the house of God. Therefore he that wishes to celebrate Mass completely to the profit of his own soul ("ideo qui vult missas ad integrum cum lucro animae suae

> celebrare"), must remain in the church with lowly posture of body and compunction of heart until the *Pater noster* is said and the blessing given to the people. For when the greater part of the congregation—nay, what is worse, nearly the whole—leave the church after the lessons have been read, who is there to whom the priest can address his *sursum corda* (lift up your hearts)? Or how can those say that they have their hearts lifted up who have taken themselves off, with body and heart as well, to the marketplace outside? Or how shall they exclaim in awe mixed with gladness, *Sanctus, sanctus, sanctus, benedictus qui venit in nomine Domini?* Or again, when the *Pater noster* is said, who will there be to cry in all humility and truth *Dimitte nobis*, etc., Forgive our trespasses, and the rest?[7]

If this passage (which so clearly shows that in the phraseology of the early sixth century a layman who devoutly assisted at the liturgy until its conclusion could be said to "celebrate Mass") stood alone, we might suspect some blunder of the copyist. But there are several other cases of the use of *celebrare* in the same sense. Two which occur in the works of Gregory of Tours have been pointed out by Dom Ruinart. Gregory, in speaking of the tomb of King Sigismund, tells us that "if any patients suffering from the ague devoutly *celebrate Mass* in his honor and make an oblation to God for the repose of his soul, the shivering fits at once come to an end, the fever abates and they are restored to normal health".[8]

The sufferers whom Gregory had in mind were evidently layfolk; but the other case is even clearer, for it is that of a widow who is described as "celebrating the holy Mass every day (*celebrans quotidie missarum solemnia*) and making an offering in pious memory of her husband". What is more, the story lets us know that, though she was always present at the Mass, she did not usually receive Communion.[9] Yet another example is furnished by the life of St. Gertrude of Nivelles which Bruno Krusch considers to have been written by a contemporary about the year 670. This is also the case

[7] Migne, *P. L.*, XXXIX, c. 2277.

[8] *De Gloria Martyrum*, c. 75; *Monumenta Germaniae, SS. Meroving.*, I, p. 537.

[9] *De Gloria Confessorum, M. G. H. Merov.*, I, p. 785. The widow in question provided the best wine procurable, but on one occasion when she did communicate, she found that the subdeacon had kept this for his own use, and supplied for the communicants some sour stuff like vinegar.

of a woman, of whom it is recounted that: "From that day forth the said matron began to put faith in the power of St. Gertrude. So straightway, gathering together the whole household, she carried out what she had previously refused to do in the way of charitable offices, and she celebrated a Mass on the next day (*in crastinum missam celebravit*) in honor of the Virgin of Christ." [10]

From what has been said it must, I think, be sufficiently clear that the use of the word *celebrare* in the canon of Hippo in no way requires us to believe that it applied only to the officiant priest and the clergy who assisted him. No doubt the expression *sacramenta altaris* will suggest to most readers that the enactment was concerned with the reception of Holy Communion, but I venture to urge that even this inference is unreliable and probably erroneous. We have to remember that at that date the Holy Sacrifice in the Western Church had not yet generally received any distinctive name. The term *missa* (literally the "dismissal") had begun to be sometimes applied to the whole solemn function of which it was the concluding act, but, as we may learn from the narrative of the famous contemporary pilgrim Etheria, it generally meant something more closely corresponding to its etymology.[11] Both in Latin and Greek all sorts of periphrases were employed at first to designate the Christian sacrifice, e. g. *cœna Domini, oblatio, Dominica solemnia, sacrificia Dei*, etc., and amongst these we may safely reckon the *sacramenta altaris* used by the Fathers of Hippo.[12] The canon therefore simply tells us that those who by their presence there, "celebrated", i. e. took part in, the Mass, should be fasting. It says nothing directly about Communion, but obviously, if all were fasting, it secured that they who partook of the Body and Blood of Christ could not fail to pay this tribute of respect to the Sacrament.

[10] *M. G. H. SS. Merov.*, II, p. 471.

[11] See the *Peregrinatio Etheriae, passim;* but note in particular ch. xxiv. Cf. Leclercq, *Dictionnaire d'Archéologie* etc., vol. XI, cc. 767-768.

[12] St. Augustine, writing to Paulinus, speaks of *celebratio sacramentorum*, where he clearly means Mass (Migne, *P. L.*, XXXIII, 636). Similarly in a letter of Evodius (Migne, *P. L.*, XXXIII, 694), we find "redemptionis sacramenta tertio die obtulimus".

I can imagine that to those who have not investigated the history of the subject, the suggestion that for many centuries all who were present at the High Mass were bound to be fasting, may seem extravagant and quite improbable. Unfortunately there is no room here to set out the evidence at any length; but I may note one or two points. In a Greek homily which Th. Zahn has edited, and which he attributes to Eusebius of Emesa in the middle of the fourth century, the preacher makes out a sort of scale of offences in the matter of Sunday observance. If, he says, a man breaks his fast before the public liturgy of the Church is completed, he is in danger of judgment; but if he takes food before receiving Communion he is in danger of hell fire.[13] A similar abstention was insisted on by Theodulfus, Bishop of Orleans, at the end of the eighth century, and in an Anglo-Saxon version of his capitula made two hundred years later, this ordinance was still impressed upon the laity: "but we command", it runs, "that no man taste any food before the service of the High Mass be completed", etc.[14] There are many other clear traces in the West of the same observance both much earlier and much later in date. I will only appeal to an authoritative pronouncement in the reply of Pope St. Nicholas I to the Bulgarians (A. D. 866). He declared that it was an unheard-of thing among Christians that any one should take food before the third hour, i. e. nine o'clock (this was the normal hour for the public Mass), and he goes on: "therefore we exhort you to take no bodily nourishment of any sort before the third hour of the day, even on great festivals".[15]

Another point of interest which bears very directly upon the participation of the laity in the sacrifice is the fact that for many centuries offerings were made by the faithful in kind to provide bread and wine as well as other requisites for the celebration of Mass. It is possible that the moment and the manner of this contribution differed in Rome, Spain and Gaul, but the custom in some shape or form was observed everywhere.[16] For Rome in the time of St. Gregory the Great

[13] See Zahn, *Skizzen aus dem Leben der alten Kirche*, p. 284.

[14] Thorpe, *Ancient Laws and Institutes*, II, p. 443.

[15] Migne, *P. L.*, vol. CXIX, c. 1002.

[16] G. Nickl, *Der Anteil des Volkes*, etc., p. 41, maintaining that there was a second offering of gifts after the *processus oblationis*, runs counter to the view

we have an interesting testimony in the story of the unbelieving matron who came up to Communion, and then when the saint delivered to her a fragment of the consecrated loaf, saying, almost as now: "May the Body of our Lord Jesus Christ preserve thy soul," laughed derisively in his face. St. Gregory withheld what he had proffered, but made the woman come to him afterward. She explained, when asked the reason of her conduct: "I made that loaf with my own hands and you said that it was the body of our Lord." Then the saint showed her that the fragment which he had taken back was now by a miracle changed into a piece of bleeding flesh, and the woman believed and was penitent.[17] The story, previously referred to, of the matron who presented wine every day for the Mass which she was said to "celebrate" for her husband, supplies another example, and there is further abundant evidence in the Merovingian Councils and in the sermons of St. Caesarius of Arles. Thus the Council of Mâcon says: "Since we were assembled we have learned from the report of brethren that some Christians in certain places have deviated from the divine command—in not offering a host at the sacred altar. Wherefore we decree that on every Sunday an offering, as well of bread as of wine, be made at the altar by all, men and women, that by these oblations they may obtain remission of their sins and may deserve to be sharers with Abel and the rest of just offerers." [18]

Moreover the decree ends with an anathema upon those who do not comply with its requirements. So also St. Caesarius, addressing his people in a sermon, tells them: "according to your ability give alms to the poor, offer oblations that may be consecrated at the altar; a man of good means ought to blush at communicating from the oblation of another."

It was, no doubt, this underlying sense of a common oblation followed by a repast which led, as soon as Communion ceased to be frequent, to the institution of *eulogiae*, the *antidoron* of the present Greek rite. This was a substitute for the

represented by J. B. Thibaut, *L'Ancienne Liturgie Gallicane*, pp. 44-45, and Dom Wilmart in the article "Germain", *Dictionnaire d'Archéologie etc.*, VI, c. 1080.

[17] See the *Vita Antiquissima* of St. Gregory edited by Cardinal Gasquet (1904), pp. 24-26.

[18] *Monumenta Germaniae, Concilia* (Maasen), I, p. 166.

Holy Eucharist which at least served to keep alive the idea of a banquet or, in the Apostle's phrase, "the Lord's Supper". As a reaction, possibly, from a terminology which was so much in favor with the Reformers, English-speaking Catholics during the last four centuries have been a little shy of this use of words. But in our liturgy the anniversary of the first consecration of the Body of the Lord is called *Cœna Domini*, and the antiphon *O sacrum convivium* is familiar on our lips in the rite of the distribution of Holy Communion. We cannot then repudiate this conception of the Mass as a banquet, a conception to which our ancestors clung so persistently even when they showed little earnestness in seeking the reality rather than the figure. Mention of the *eulogiae* under one name or other—in Anglo-Saxon England it was known as the *gehalgod hlaf* (hallowed loaf)—meets us frequently in the records of the Carolingian period. We have specially to note that the *eulogiae* in their origin at least emphasized the idea that the people who had contributed to provide the materials for the Mass had a definite share in it. We may learn from Hincmar how this holy bread was provided in the ninth century. "Out of the loaves which are offered by the people and are not required for consecration, and out of the bread given to the church, or, failing that, out of his own private store, let the priest, cutting the bread into suitable portions, have it at hand in a clean receptacle in order that after solemn Mass those who are not prepared to communicate may receive *eulogiae* on every Sunday and festival." [19]

This is, of course, the "holy bread" concerning which a very striking story, emphasizing the rule of taking no food before the conclusion of the public Mass at the hour of terce, is told in the Life of St. Cuthbert (about A. D. 651).[20] The custom of distributing holy bread lasted on in England until the Reformation, and in France and Switzerland it survives in many places to this day under the name of *pain bénit*. St. Augustine, it may be remembered, was urgent that "the Lord's Body should enter the mouth of a Christian before other food", and indeed Tertullian, earlier still, seems to have been familiar with the same idea. It is not a little curious, as

[19] Migne, *P. L.*, vol. CXXV, c. 774, and *cf.* 775 and 778.
[20] *Bedae Opera Minora* (ed. Stevenson, 1841), p. 265.

an illustration of the strange survivals often met with in altered circumstances, that long after the reception of the Lord's Body had become a rare thing among the laity, we find Robert Manning at the beginning of the fourteenth century exhorting his readers to come to daily Mass, and he adds:

> If thou come not, algate (anyway) I rede
> Eat not ere thou hast holy brede.[21]

The Holy bread, fetched from Mass by another person or preserved from some previous visit to the church, is to come first before any other food passes the lips.

Finally, to bring this rather rambling paper to a close, I sum up by repeating that at the beginning of Christianity and for many centuries afterward, there prevailed among the faithful a somewhat vague but deeply-rooted perception of the fact that the Mass was not only a memorial of the sacrifice of Calvary but also a banquet meant to be shared in common by many guests. This impression, though it gradually weakened where the laity no longer received the Eucharist as a matter of course at every Mass, was kept alive by other observances. It long continued to be an understood duty to bring offerings of bread and wine to the altar either before or during the service. The participation also of the faithful in the liturgy was marked by their making response in a body to the priest's *Dominus vobiscum, Sursum corda*, etc., by their joining in the *Sanctus* and the *Pater noster*, as well as by their administering to each other the kiss of peace. Moreover, if they did not actually communicate, they received and consumed the *eulogiae* which were made from their own oblations. In later ages the laity have come to look upon the liturgy as something enacted as it were upon a stage and at which they are little more than interested spectators. This being so, I fancy that it is difficult for most people to realize the sense of participation in a common labor of love which marked those more primitive days. Moreover, we must not forget that the language which the faithful heard from the altar was a language which they themselves habitually used, however corruptly and ungrammatically. When, however, these facts are borne in mind, no

[21] *Handlyng Sinne* (E. E. T. S.), ll. 837-838.

surprise will be felt that the laity, both men and women, were commonly spoken of as "celebrating the sacrament of the altar", or "celebrating Mass".

Further, there was bound up with this outstanding feature of a common repast, in which during sub-apostolic times all without exception took part, a sense of the duty of treating it with becoming respect. The very conviviality which was involved made the danger of casualness and irreverence only too real. We know that the Agape, whether closely connected or not with the Eucharist, had to be suppressed in the Church at a very early date on account of the scandals which attended it. Already before the year 60 St. Paul had stigmatized the abuses of which the Corinthians had been guilty; "for", he told them, "in your eating, each one taketh before other his own supper and one is hungry and another is drunken".[22] Clearly to satisfy one's hunger before one comes to a festive meal is to cast a slur alike upon the banquet and the company. Though we are left in the dark as to the actual facts, it is highly probable that both the transference of the celebration of the Eucharist from the evening to early morning hours, and, what was an almost automatic consequence, the observance of fasting reception (for early breakfasts were quite unknown in classical times), do date, as St. Augustine clearly implies, from the apostolic or sub-apostolic age. But the obligation, as generally understood, went further and the people were taught, not only that they must receive Holy Communion fasting, but that they must assist at Mass fasting. St. Nicholas I categorically laid it down that it was wrong and unheard of, for good Christians, not only in lenten seasons but even on high festivals, to allow any food to pass their lips before the public Mass was ended.

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[22] I Cor. 11:21, R. V.

PETER'S PENCE.

A FICTION is current in certain quarters that the Holy Father is immensely wealthy, is the possessor of large estates, and consequently he in no wise needs the collection that is annually taken up in the churches of the United States. This fiction is entertained even by certain Catholics; but it should be said that these are not numerous, and, though superlatively pretentious, they are in no sense important. They are found, however, in several parishes, and usually they are generous with advice to the pastors. They are rarely identified constructively with parish activities, and they invariably desire to know the why and wherefore of every appeal that comes from the pulpit. They are particularly eloquent whenever mention is made of a collection for the Holy Father.

Evidently such persons are unaware that an appeal of this nature is not of recent vintage in the United States, and they do not know, presumably, that during the Seventh Provincial Council of Baltimore (held in 1849) Archbishop Eccleston, who presided, was empowered by the Archbishops and the Bishops who attended the Council, to issue a pastoral letter renewing the custom of gathering Peter's Pence. At the same time, Pope Pius IX, then in exile at Gaeta, was invited to attend the Council.

As head of the most wonderful administrative organization on earth, to which 350 millions of people are spiritually subject, the Holy Father needs funds to carry on the affairs of the Church. As Sovereign Pontiff, the Holy Father is assisted in the government of the Church by a number of departments, or ministries, which constitute the Roman Curia. It stands out in marked contrast, as regards personnel and efficiency, with all national governments. By way of illustration: the United States, with a population of approximately 125 million, has officials whose number is legion, and it expends for national services a sum that is bewildering. In the District of Columbia alone (Washington) there were, as of record on 30 June, 1932, 68,793 government employees, and elsewhere throughout the United States, 509,438 officials — a total of 578,235 government employees. This huge personnel, however, does not include some 730,000 civic and military employees, with

salaries ranging from $1,000 to $15,000 per annum, "exclusive of allowances". The number has been notably increased under the N.R.A.

The enormous sums expended by national governments are derived from various forms of taxation, while the revenues of the Holy See come mainly from the voluntary offerings of the faithful. "But," asks the unco-inquisitive persons to whom we have alluded, "why does the Holy Father need a revenue?" Briefly, because the administration of the Church requires the means to conduct its enormous executive, educational, missionary, social and other activities.

For many centuries the Church was a Temporal Power. It participated in councils and conferences wherever matters of international import were discussed and adjusted, and it enjoyed a revenue from the "Patrimony of Peter". At the end of the Napoleonic era the papal dominions comprised about 17,000 square miles. The Temporal Power ceased to exist *de facto* on 20 September, 1870, when Rome was officially occupied by the Piedmontese King, Victor Emmanuel II, and became the capital of United Italy. Then followed a disastrous epoch in the history of the Papacy. True, the Italian Parliament passed a "Law of Guarantees", gave "assurance" to Pius IX that his person would be respected, and promised an annuity to him and to his successors. The Pope refused to accept the offer made by the Italian Parliament. Why was this offer refused? Because the "Law of Guarantees" was merely a "law", and not a "treaty". The law created only an internal, not an international situation. It was a unilateral, not a bilateral document. It was a grant of certain things from the Italian Parliament, not a recognition of sovereignty. It was a piece of legislation changeable by any legislature. No territory was acknowledged in which the Pope was sovereign, for the Vatican Palace and grounds were declared an extra-territorial, but not an independent, piece of land. Sovereignty was therefore implicitly denied; the instrument of sovereignty, namely free territory, was not acknowledged, and to have accepted it would have been to renounce his sovereignty, which no Pope was at liberty to do by virtue of his supreme mission of the universal care of the souls committed to him by the Chief Shepherd.[1]

[1] Parsons, *The Pope and Italy*, p. 35. New York, 1929.

Out of this conflict between the Holy See and the King of Italy arose what came to be known in later days as the Roman Question. This was ultimately settled on 11 February, 1929, with the signing of three important documents at the Lateran Palace, by Cardinal Gasparri, Papal Secretary of State, and by the Hon. Benito Mussolini, on behalf of the King of Italy. The gist of the settlement was: (1) Recognition of the Sovereignty of the Pope over Vatican City; (2) Recognition of Vatican City as territory independent of Italy; (3) Abolition of the Law of Guarantees, on the part of Italy. The actual size of the territory now ruled by the Holy Father is approximately 166 acres—about the size of the campus of the Catholic University of America, in the City of Washington, D. C. We no longer speak of "Papal States", or Temporal Power, though the sovereignty which the Pope enjoys implies the use of civil government: there is, however, a vast difference between civil government as it exists in the nations of the world, and as it is exercised by the Pope, both in aim and execution. "The prime object of the Pope's Government is his own independence, solely that he may be unhampered in the pursuit of his vocation, which is to teach the Revelation of Christ, and promote the eternal welfare of all men."

The legal right of the Church to hold property was recognized in the early days of the Christian era, and it was renewed in fact and theory by Constantine the Great (321). From that time onward the Holy See began to acquire estates in Italy, in Gaul, in Africa, and in the Orient, and the revenues derived therefrom became the foundation of the Patrimony of Peter. These revenues were used for religious purposes, and "to further the enterprises which the spiritual vocation of the Popes led them to undertake in a world that was falling into pieces".

The donation of large estates to the Papacy ceased about the beginning of the seventh century. It is not my purpose to describe in detail what followed, except to state that it is now generally agreed by reputable historians that the Temporal Power of the Popes came into existence when the Byzantine rulers had become powerless to protect their numerous possessions in the West against the powerful Germanic tribes who

had begun to make destructive incursions into the fertile plain of Lombardy.

As a result, Pope Stephen II, called the "Father of the Temporal Power", crossed the Alps in 754, and sought the intervention of Pepin, King of the Franks, to repel the barbarian incursions. Soon afterward Pepin conferred upon the Pope the Duchy of Rome, and the Exarchate of Ravenna, the Marches of Ancona, and the territory adjoining. Pepin's Donation was renewed by Charlemagne in 781; and the territory thus formally bestowed upon the Pope remained, with certain contractions and expansions, the possession of the Pope, *de facto* until 1870, and *de jure* until Pius XI signed most of it away in 1929.

Formerly, certain writers were wont to ascribe the beginnings of the Temporal Power to the "Donation of Constantine", but this is now regarded as a forgery. Nobody has been able to prove that any Pope claimed Temporal Power prior to Stephen II on that basis, nor that any Pope of a later age made the basis of Temporal Power any other juridical fact than the "Donation of Pepin".

After the Popes had become firmly established as temporal rulers in Central and Northern Italy (in the "Papal States"), Rome became "the centre of the universe", as it had been before Byzantium usurped the title. Thousands of pilgrims came thither from distant lands, especially from Northern Europe, and notably from the British Isles. When these pilgrims arrived in Rome "they would seek shelter in the various pilgrimage houses, where they would find fellow-countrymen to act as guides to the churches and catacombs. After they had returned to their own country they would spread wonderful stories of the greatness and magnificence of the holy town and of the Papacy, until others were moved to set out on a like pilgrimage. Thus the bond between the nations and the 'Mother of Mankind' was stronger than one of mere political needs and advantages." [2]

Among those who journeyed to Rome in the seventh century was a pagan, Caedwalla, King of Wessex. He was baptized with full ceremony in the great baptistery of St. John Lateran

[2] Jenssen, Art. "The Denarius Sancti Petri in England", in *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, New Series, XV, p. 171. London, 1901.

on Easter Sunday, 689. Ten days later he died, and was buried with much solemnity in the atrium of St. Peter's.[3]

Three years later two more English kings, Conried of Mercia, and Offa of Essex, arrived in Rome. Both were Christians, and came on a spiritual quest. They entered a monastery near St. Peter's. In the decades that immediately followed, numerous Anglo-Saxon pilgrims went to Rome, and thus a close bond was established between Saxon England and the Holy See. So close were the relations between the two that Anglo-Saxons had a school in Rome, the object of which apparently was to provide lodging as well as education for pilgrims. A church was attached to the school, dedicated to Our Lady, and known as "Sancta Maria in Saxia". The origin of the school is obscure; and the earliest contemporary reference to it occurs in the *Liber Pontificalis*.[4] It seems possible that some connexion existed between the Anglo-Saxon school in Rome and the origin of Peter's Pence, which was known in England during Saxon times as "Romfeoh". Thurston says: "In the Middle Ages this form of contribution seems to have been confined to England and some northern nations, and it was unquestionably in England that it took its rise."[5]

As regards the origin of the custom we have no definite knowledge. Some state that it originated with Ini of Essex; "but we are on firmer ground if we identify the beginnings of 'Romfeoh' with an annual contribution promised to the Holy See by King Offa II." In this connexion there is a statement "that in promising the above donation to Rome, Offa was not moved by religious, but by political considerations." Be this as it may, the sum promised to the Pope by Offa was confirmed to the Pope's legates at the Synod of Chelsea, in 787. "The contribution was applied to relieve the poor and provide candles for the churches in Rome."

Another statement regarding the origin of Peter's Pence ascribes its introduction to King Ethelwulf of Essex (837-857). Ethelwulf sent his son Alfred, then eleven years old, with an escort of nobles to Rome, in 853. The royal youth

[3] See Bede, *Historia Ecclesiastica Gentis Anglorum*, V, cap. 7, ed. Plummer. Oxford, 1896.

[4] Ed. Duchesne, II, 6. Paris, 1892.

[5] *Catholic Encyclopedia*, art. "Peter's Pence", Vol. XI, p. 774.

was received graciously by Pope Leo IV, who decorated him with the cincture of a Roman consul, and anointed him as a future king. In return for the favors conferred on Alfred by the Pope, Ethelwulf vowed one-tenth of his realm to the Church. "The donation was an expression of gratitude to the Church and the Pope for the honor shown to his son; and the unction of Prince Alfred by the Pope was held to signify a divine promise of protection, of victory, and of a great future." [6]

There is still another version of Ethelwulf's donation. It says that the king journeyed to Rome, and there granted to Pope Leo IV one silver penny from each home throughout his kingdom. In confirmation of this statement Fabre, quoting an Anglo-Saxon chronicler, says: "During the reign of Alfred the Great (871-890) and of Edward the Elder (901-924) specially appointed men were sent to Rome to take the donation of the Wessex people and their king." [7]

From another source we learn that in 887, or 888, the ealdorman Aethelhelm went to Rome and brought a large sum on behalf of the people; and that two years later the abbot Beornhelm brought a donation that came from the West Angles and from King Alfred. That this custom was firmly established we learn from Lieberman, who says: "In the ancient Anglo-Saxon laws it is stated that from the time of King Alfred it was the duty of every Christian throughout the whole of England to pay 'Romfeoh'." [8]

During the twelfth and following centuries there is frequent mention in English annals of the collection of Peter's Pence, within the realm. At times it would seem that some of the collectors outstepped the bounds of discretion when gathering the pence, for there is extant a letter of Pope Alexander III, in 1170, in which the Pontiff says: "In your collection of Peter's Pence, be not so bold as to burden [the people] otherwise or more heavily than your predecessors were wont to do in the time of Pope Innocent II and Eugenius III. If notwithstanding, you shall presume to do so, all that you are found to have shall be taken from you."

[6] Kemble, *Saxons in England*, II, p. 481, cited by Jenssen, *art. cit.*

[7] *Etude sur le "Liber Censuum"*, p. 132. Paris, 1892.

[8] *Die Gesetze der Angelsachsen*, II, 131, cited by Jenssen, *art. cit.*, p. 182.

By ancient law the tax of Peter's Pence was fixed at one penny for each hearth (hence the term "hearth-penny") from every one who possessed chattels of an annual yield of thirty pence, and in the "Denelagu" [9] of eighty pence at least. In every diocese there were officials for collecting the pence, which were then brought to the bishop's see. The amount imposed on each diocese was fixed by the number of families.

Excavations made some years ago in Rome prove incontestably that Peter's Pence ("Romfeoh") was paid by the Anglo-Saxons during the Middle Ages. In 1883 a collection of coins was discovered in Rome on the site of the ancient House of Vestals, near the Palatine. Of the coins found, 830 were Anglo-Saxon pennies. Three bore the inscription "Aelfred rex"; 217, "Edward rex"; 393, "Athelstan rex"; 4, "Pheglemund archiep.", while others bore the inscriptions "Sistice Cunning, N[orthumb]", and "Anlaf Cunning, N". The collection, still preserved in the National Museum, Rome, covers a period from about 870 to 947, "and it is possible that the coins were collected and sent to Rome about that time".[10] These coins were presumably an instalment of "Romfeoh", which in the middle of the tenth century was sent from England regularly. They illustrate the manner in which Peter's Pence was paid—a single penny from each hearth. "From evidence of this nature we may draw the following conclusion: (a) that the English were certainly the first nation to pay 'Romfeoh'; (b) the only one that paid it in the ninth century, and possibly in the first part of the tenth century; but that at the beginning of the eleventh century 'Romfeoh' was gradually introduced into the other kingdoms of Western Christendom." [11]

There are extant numerous laws and ordinances of the Anglo-Saxon period in England regarding "Romfeoh", which subsequently, in the Anglo-Norman period, was called "Romescot". In Rome the usual name for the contribution was "denarii Sancti Petri", or "census Beati Petri". To withhold payment of "Romescot" was regarded as a serious

[9] The Denelagu was the name applied to that part of England which was ceded to the Danes, in 878, by Alfred the Great.

[10] See De Rossi, *Notizie degli Scavi di Antichità*, p. 487. Rome, 1883.

[11] Jenssen, *art. cit.*, Appendix I.

crime, and severe punishments were often inflicted on delinquents.

The time set for the payment of Peter's Pence was decreed to be "Petres Massdaege" (1 August), by the laws of Edgar Aethlestan; but in the laws of Edward the Confessor the day is given in the Latin, "ad festum Scti. Petri ad vincula" (Feast of St. Peter's Chains).

During the twelfth century the kings of Norway and Sweden sent an embassy to Rome, with a view to obtain from the Pope the establishment of an archbishopric in each kingdom. The Pope promised the ambassadors that he would consider their request; and for the execution of the project the English Cardinal, Nicholas Breakspear (later Pope Adrian IV), was sent to Scandinavia to establish the archbishoprics (one only was established, however). On his return to Rome he was hailed as "Apostle of Norway". Besides the establishing of an archiepiscopal see at Drontheim, Cardinal Breakspear made provision for an annual contribution of Peter's Pence from Norway, Sweden, and Iceland. It has been stated that he also made similar regulations regarding Ireland; but this seems doubtful. The manner in which Peter's Pence should be collected in the Scandinavian countries is described in a letter of Anastasius IV to the Scandinavian bishops, and it was not unlike the method established in England three hundred years before.

There are numerous documents regarding the payment of Peter's Pence by the English people; and they cover the period from its inception to the reign of Henry VIII, during whose régime came the break between England and the Holy See. This break is set down in history books as "The Reformation in England", by a misnomer. "This fundamental change in the government of the English church was soon followed by a so-called reform in morals and worship, and the publication of the beliefs and practices to be accepted by every Englishman. The reform in morals was nothing but a convenient pretext for the passage of measures increasing the revenues of the royal treasury through suppression of monasteries and confiscation of ecclesiastical property. Reform in worship was effected by the destruction of sacred relics and images. The beliefs and practices imposed on every subject were contained

in the *Six Articles* published in 1539. These articles were entirely Catholic, for, apart from suppresing the authority of the Pope (by the *Act of Supremacy*, 1534), Henry retained the old faith. The Six Articles imposed the acceptance of the following points under pain of death: (1) Transubstantiation; (2) Communion under one species; (3) the celibacy of the clergy; (4) the binding character of the vow of chastity; (5) Masses for the dead; (6) auricular confession." [12]

We have abundant data regarding the payment of Peter's Pence by the people of Greenland and Iceland, but space does not permit the reproduction of several interesting documents. I translate the following from *Compte Rendu du Congrés Scientifique International des Catholiques* (Paris, 1921). "From a bull of Martin IV, issued in 1282, we find that dues and Peter's Pence of the diocese of Gardar (Greenland) were paid in merchandise and native products, such as seal skins, walrus teeth, and cow hides. These products were brought to Norway and exchanged for money. We know that no cow hides were to be found at the time in Greenland, and that the people of that country paid their church dues with fish products. The cow hides which the agents of the Apostolic Chamber received from the Greenlanders came from Vinland. We find in the official returns for the year 1307 that Vinland products figure largely."

This statement is of great import, as it indicates that more than six centuries ago North America contributed Peter's Pence to the Holy See. It is not definitely known on what section of the American coast Vinland was situated, but some historians state that Vinland was located somewhere along the New England coast. Others, however, seem to think that it was located further to the northward. We know more of the Norse settlements located in Helluland and Markland. Says a French geographer: "Les descriptions du Labrador sous le nom de *Helluland* et de Terre Neuve sous le nom de Markland sont aussi vivantes que celle du *Vinland* est artificielle." [13] We know that Thorfinn Karlsefne and his wife Gudrid spent

[12] Weber, *A General History of the Christian Era*, vol. II, p. 30; Washington, 1926. See also Gasquet, *Henry VIII and the English Monasteries*, 2 vols., 6th ed., London, 1895; and Cobbett-Gasquet, *A History of the Protestant Reformation in England and Ireland*, New York.

[13] Perret, *La Géographie de Terre-Neuve*, p. 10. Paris, 1913.

three years in Markland, and to them was born a son Snorri. We also know that Gudrid visited Rome after the death of her husband, and that later she became a religious in her native Iceland.

We have data of even greater import. "On the ninth day of August, in the year 1327, I, Bernard d'Orteuil, have received from the lord archbishop of Drontheim, as St. Peter's pence of the bishopric of Greenland, three liess-pounds of walrus teeth. And afterward, in the above year and on the sixth day of the month of September, I have sold the said (walrus teeth) to John d'Yprès, a Flemish merchant. I received for each liess-pound two sous tournois of silver. The said three liess-pounds amount to six sous tournois of silver." [14]

The custom of paying Peter's Pence did not survive the Reformation, and not until the middle of the last century do we find mention of it. Peter's Pence was then revived, but in a form quite different from what it had been in early times. Nowadays there is neither a regular diocesan nor parish levy, nor fixed assessment for the purpose. But an annual collection for the Holy Father is taken up in our churches. Usually it meets with a generous response; there are few pennies, but usually coins of greater value, and not infrequently bills of large denomination.

The revival of Peter's Pence (otherwise, the collection for the Holy Father) seems to have begun after the Revolution (1848) in Italy, which forced Pius IX to leave Rome and take refuge at Gaeta. Whilst the Pope was in exile (1848-50), a movement to aid the Pope was initiated in France by the Compte de Montalembert, who, in coöperation with the French bishops, organized a committee that raised a substantial sum for the purpose. This fund was known as "Le denier de Saint Pierre" (Peter's Pence). Some writers state, however, that the beginnings of a voluntary contribution for the needs of the Holy Father were made about the same time in Vienna, by the Confraternity of St. Michael, to which Catholics in Austria, and elsewhere in Europe, seem to have contributed generally. It is said that many contributions came from Ireland.

[14] De Roo, *History of America Before Columbus*, vol. II, p. 409. Philadelphia, 1900.

As regards contributions of Catholics in the United States toward a subsidy for the Pope, the initial steps were taken, as already noted, by the American hierarchy during the sessions of the Seventh Provincial Council of Baltimore, in 1849.

After the loss of the Papal States, in 1870, contributions to the needs of the Holy See increased everywhere; and the aggregate amount was quite large. The largest amounts received as Peter's Pence, in recent years, came from dioceses in the United States, despite the fact that there is (as far as I am aware) no organization in any diocese specifically charged with collecting it. It is known that during the World War, and since, Catholics in the United States have contributed generously to the Pope's Collection, as Peter's Pence is now commonly designated.

In many European countries there exist associations especially organized for the purpose of collecting Peter's Pence. "The members of these organizations pledge themselves to make some minimum contribution; they solicit the subscriptions of others; and they unite in certain exercises of piety, which are richly indulgenced." [15]

The needs of the Holy Father are to-day greater than ever before. Papal activities have increased largely, and they are being multiplied to meet the demands of the religious, educational, social, and humanitarian projects of the Holy See. A collection for the Pope should not fall on deaf ears, and it should meet a willing response throughout this far land, where generosity is proverbial.

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[15] Thurston, *op. cit.*

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THE HISTORY OF OUR ENGLISH CATECHISM.

THE CATECHISM is the all-important book for the Catholic child; it is the instrument of faith. Without the catechism, in this country as in any other country, religion could not have progressed. In the early days of America the little catechisms would be in the priest's saddle-bag beside his Mass-kit. The pioneer missionaries distributed them in their visits to their scattered flocks, and they were treasured in the log cabins as a substitute for the parish school, and often, alas, for the living voice of the priest. American Catholicity owes much to these little books, and it may be of interest to scan rapidly the history of our English catechism which we have known so long and appreciate so little.

The history of our English catechism begins with the history of the Penny Catechism of England. W. G. Twiney's history of the Penny Catechism, in the *Oscotian*, 1902, places its origin in the work of Lawrence Vaux of Manchester, in 1567. A text which was developed from Vaux's catechism and the *Abstract of the Douai Catechism* composed by Henry Turberville in 1649 were used by Doctor Challoner, according to his biographer, Edwin H. Burton, as a basis for his *Abridgment of Christian Doctrine*, published in 1772, and from this, by gradual changes, has come England's present Penny Catechism. Father Carroll and the English Jesuits who came to this country naturally introduced here the works with which they were most familiar. Doctor Shea, in his *History of the Catholic Church in the United States*, says: "Carroll soon after being made prefect and subsequently as Bishop of Baltimore, adopted the little catechism long used in England, and which had been prepared and carefully scrutinized by able theologians, well versed in their own language."

Here formal history leaves us. The development of the catechism, the new elements in its revision, the introduction of other catechisms and their influence on our present text, have been studied from old books and documents in the archives of the Baltimore Cathedral, St. Mary's Seminary, the Shea Collection and others in the Georgetown University Library, and Dr. MacKeachen's collection at the Catholic University. The study is necessarily limited because of the extreme rarity of

these old catechisms. "Just as the common Horn-books," says Dr. Burton, "which a hundred years ago could be bought by any village child for a few pence, are now so scarce as to be the object of keen competition among wealthy collectors, so the cheap little catechisms, so familiar to every Catholic child, were not worth the keeping, and now are hardly to be met with."

Just about the time Father Carroll was made Prefect of the Missions in the United States, Father Molyneaux, one of the ex-Jesuits in this country, had a catechism printed, probably a reprint of whatever English catechism his confrères were using in England at the time of the Suppression. In a letter to Father Carroll, in 1785, he says: "It is the short abridgment which I had printed some time ago." There is no copy preserved to us of either this catechism or any early editions approved by the then Father Carroll. However, we have a copy of a *Short Abridgment of Christian Doctrine*, of the 12th edition, printed in 1793. It includes a Daily Exercise for Christians, and has as an appendix, a "Fuller Instruction on Holy Eucharist and Communion" from the French Catechism of Archbishop Languet of Sens. This is a manual of forty pages, and is the well-known Carroll catechism that was so generally used, for although it is marked simply "With Approbation", the same catechism appears in later editions, approved by Carroll as Bishop, and still later, as Archbishop. Letters in the archives of St. Mary's Seminary show that this little catechism was the popular catechism on the English missions, and the constancy of its influence will appear as our study progresses.

On the ground at the same time was *Butler's Catechism*, brought over from Ireland and England by the Jesuits and published here as early as 1788. This catechism was to grow steadily in popularity.

An Abridgment of Christian Doctrine, by Bishop Hay of Scotland, appeared in 1800 in Philadelphia and three years later in New York. In 1809, Dornin, one of our pioneer Catholic printers, reprinted this abridgment "with some alterations in the language", and with Bishop Carroll's approval.

The following year, Fleury's *Short Historical Catechism* was introduced in Boston. This was a translation from the French, printed in England, and approved for use here by Bishop Cheverus of Boston.

Five years later, 1815, Dornin advertised in the Ordo a "New Edition of Small Catechism, considerably improved by the addition of some Divine Hymns". Archbishop Mareçhal in 1818 added to this, which was Carroll's catechism, a Scriptural catechism of eleven pages, marked "Presented to the Bishops of Both Island's for approval, by a Catholic Priest". This was Milner's Scriptural Catechism, which was later added to Butler's Catechism. In the Ordo of 1826 appears a notice that Lucas, the Baltimore printer, was printing a new edition of a catechism approved by Mareçhal, which was to supplant diocesan editions. The text was often impaired by typographical errors, according to the notice. This was the Hay catechism.

Bishop England, coming to America in 1820, conscious of his ability and feeling that he was just in time to shape the Church in the new democratic country, made radical changes and inaugurated new institutions. In his diurnal we read: "On the last week of Lent [i. e. a couple of months after he arrived here] was published a catechism which I had much trouble in compiling from various others, and adding several parts which I considered necessary to be explicitly dwelt upon under the peculiar circumstances of my diocese." He added a question and answer on Liberality, or religious toleration, which he considered important in Charleston's non-Catholic environment. He used, no doubt, some of the catechisms he had seen in Ireland and some of those in use in Charleston. Bishop David, Bardstown, criticized his statement of faith and Bishop Connolly, New York, writing to Archbishop Mareçhal, criticized him for bringing out a new catechism and confusing minds with altered statements of religion. This attitude toward the changes which the new bishop thought necessary may explain the early disappearance of his catechism.

The Bardstown catechism, composed in 1825 by Bishop David, and approved by Bishop Flaget, is still used to-day. It is a book of about 200 pages, divided into two catechisms. The first is for "Younger Children and Persons of Inferior Capacity"; the second, for children who are preparing for their First Communion. It is evident that in his work Bishop David used the current abridgment from the time of Carroll, for the first part of his catechism is like that famous little

work, with few structural changes. It has a question or two beginning, "Are you a Christian?", that prevail since the time of Bellarmine. A copy of Bellarmine's catechism, printed in 1688, is among the collection in St. Mary's Seminary. The 4th Part of David's catechism is an explanation of the principal feasts and solemnities of the year. This idea is in Challoner's *Catholic Christian Instructed*, then in circulation in America. However, before going to Kentucky, David, who was a Sulpician, taught at St. Mary's College, and there, no doubt, became acquainted with or helped compose a French catechism that the Sulpicians had had printed for use among the French in America. It was based on the French catechism, "approved by the Archbishop of Paris, for use by the Capuchin Fathers in the windward islands of America." Up to 1818 it went through several American editions, remaining practically the same as to text, but the fifth edition contains an explanation of liturgical feasts of the year, after Challoner perhaps, and a set of exercises for Christians similar to that in Carroll's abridgment. Various hymns and litanies were also added. All of these features are reproduced in the Bardstown catechism; so it is almost certain that this catechism was an element in the composition of Bishop David's English work. It was revised about 1853, by Father Charles Boeswalt of Louisville, and again sometime after the definition of the Immaculate Conception in 1854. The worth of David's catechism and Kentucky's loyalty to early traditions have secured for this little book a singular place of honor in the history of our catechism.

In 1821 Archbishop Mareçhal suppressed a catechism composed by the unfortunate Hogan, of the Philadelphia trustee scandal, and six years later he asked Bishop Conwell to withdraw a catechism which he had prepared, on account of its inexactness of language and doctrinal expression.

In view of the introduction of various other catechisms and of the tendency of the Bishops to draw up new ones, Archbishop Mareçhal, fearing that a multiplicity of discordant or misleading catechisms might be introduced, called the attention of Rome to the subject in a letter to Cardinal Cappellari, Prefect of the Propaganda, in 1827. Unification was urged at the First Provincial Council of Baltimore, and a catechism was

ordered written which, by special request of the Propaganda, "shall give the Christian Doctrine as explained in Cardinal Bellarmine's catechism, and when approved by the Holy See, it shall be published for common use of Catholics". This decree was never carried out.

In 1832 a decree of the First Diocesan Synod of Philadelphia declared that the catechism "formerly issued by the authority of the Archbishop of Baltimore shall be used until one is aproved by Rome". That this was the Carroll catechism seems evident from a similar provisional approbation given to the first bishop's work in the next Provincial Council at Baltimore.

In 1833 a reprint of the old Douai catechism appeared in New York, and a revised edition by Bishop Doyle of Ireland was issued in Philadelphia. It was commended by Bishop Kenrick for its clearness and proofs of doctrine. Bishop Hughes of New York, who had been secretary to Bishop Kenrick, and Bishop Fenwick of Boston also approved the revised edition. Thus was one of the ancestors of the famous Carroll catechism reintroduced in America.

In 1835 there was advertised a *Short Catechism of Christian Doctrine*, revised by the Right Rev. Dr. Kenrick and approved for use in his diocese. This was a revised version of Bishop Carroll's catechism.

In 1839 Archbishop Eccleston secured a copyright on a 96-page *Catechism of the Christian Doctrine*, followed later by a 32-page Abridgment. His catechism, containing copious scriptural references, is somewhat different in form and text from any that had gone before, but like Bishop England's, his departure from tradition doomed his catechism to a short life. His work was not an important factor in the history of our catechism.

In the same year, 1839, the First Diocesan Synod of St. Louis, under Bishop Rosati, decreed the use of Archbishop Carroll's catechism for the English of the diocese. Kenrick, of Philadelphia, tired of waiting for the adoption of a universal catechism, secured in the Synod of 1842 the adoption of Butler's catechism for use among the English-speaking Catholics of his diocese. Though Butler's catechism had been in this country and had become quite popular, this seems to have been its first official approbation and adoption.

Under Bishop Fenwick of Boston, in 1843, another revision of the Carroll catechism was issued to supplant the editions which of late years had been published without authority. This edition marks a definitive step in the development of our catechism of to-day. It prevailed generally in Massachusetts until at least the publication of the Third Plenary Council catechism. This Boston catechism also bears strong resemblance to the Penny Catechism of England, likewise an ancestor of the Carroll catechism. There are minor structural changes, as, for instance, grouping the definitions of the three theological virtues according to Carroll's catechism instead of defining them, as does the Penny Catechism, before the explanation of the Creed, Prayer and the Sacraments, respectively. In the text, the Penny Catechism's definition of Indulgences was replaced with a whole chapter on the subject; Carroll's Daily Exercise was substituted for the Penny Catechism's Rule of Life. A third part, devoted to the explanation of festivals, etc., perhaps after David's catechism, was added, and an appendix from Challoner's *Catholic Christian Instructed* on Exorcisms, Blessings, etc. It was this little book that Bishop Fenwick put into the hands of the great Brownson when he sought admission to the true Church. He was to become docile as a little child and was given a child's text book. The intimacy of Fenwick with Bishop Flaget, who had been his teacher in the early days at Georgetown College, explains the appearance in Louisville of the same catechism with certain omissions. It is still used there as an introduction to Bishop David's catechism.

Concerned with the numerous different texts in use throughout the country, especially in new sees which increasing immigration necessitated, and whose bishops were not so strongly influenced by Maryland traditions, and with the new variations of the old types constantly appearing, the Fathers of the First Plenary Council, in 1852, appointed a commission of three Bishops to provide a uniform catechism. The committee suggested that the catechism of the venerated Archbishop Carroll, with some minor revisions, be submitted to the Holy See, for approval and adoption. The manuscript copy of the Council Decrees contained this order, but it was marked "Omittendum" on the margin, and it was omitted from the final text. The outcome of the movement, however, was a "*General Cate-*

chism of the Christian Doctrine, prepared by Order of the First Plenary Council of Baltimore". It was approved by Archbishop Spalding in Baltimore and by Bishop Neumann in Philadelphia, both of whom were on the committee mentioned above. It is much like Fenwick's revised catechism, which Spalding had seen in Louisville. The greatest difference is the omission in the *General Catechism* of the explanation of the liturgical feasts and the excerpts from Challoner on blessings, and the addition of an appendix, in question and answer, on the liturgy of the Mass and the sign of the cross. This catechism was advertised as "Prepared by Order of the First Plenary Council of Baltimore", and though it became official in some dioceses, and was somewhat popular, it was not universally adopted. A few years later, Bishop Verot, of Savannah, issued a catechism based on this work of Archbishop Spalding, with slight additions and modifications. He added an admirable chapter on the four marks of the Church, and this single chapter secured for the catechism the reputation of having been one of the best thus far printed.

In the Second Plenary Council, in 1866, the subject of unification was again discussed, and a committee of theologians was appointed to examine a catechism recently composed by Dr. McCaffrey, then President of Mt. St. Mary's College, and recommended by Archbishop Spalding. The report of the committee was, indeed, favorable, and from the published acts of the Council it would appear that McCaffrey's catechism was proposed as official. Bishop Timon and Verot strenuously opposed its official adoption, and on motion of Bishops Wood and Timon the whole matter was dropped, and the decree of the First Provincial Council was repeated. There were protests after the Council against the introduction of the catechism, but they came chiefly from those who had adopted other catechisms or who had spent money in publishing other texts. Bishop David's catechism had become such a part of Catholic life in Kentucky that it held its place against the new catechisms.

In Dr. McCaffrey's catechism the Carroll tradition is still evident; some textual changes resemble Butler's. It is, in general, a reconstruction of Spalding's catechism, with some points, especially regarding the Holy Eucharist and the Mass as a sacrifice, more fully explained.

By this time *DeHarbe's Catechism* was attracting considerable attention. It was of German authorship, of 1847, and was translated in England in 1862. It was introduced into this country in its English dress under the name of *Fander's Catechism*, and the reputation which it had gained in the German districts of Pennsylvania and Ohio was extended among English-speaking Catholics. Many editions have been published in the United States. Bishop Lynch of Charleston revised the Fander translation, and his revised edition, approved by Cardinal McCloskey in 1878, soon generally replaced the original translation. Other catechisms, such as the Dubuque catechism, by Father Hattenberger, and supplementary works such as Curr's *Familiar Instructions* and Lingard's *Catechetical Instructions,* enjoyed some circulation, but they do not enter into the history of our catechism.

From this time to the convoking of the Third Plenary Council, in 1884, the sentiment in favor of a universal catechism was growing. The Bishops realized that there were too many catechisms in the field. Archbishop Elder, writing to Cardinal Gibbons, in 1884, says: "I used to hear it said that in France a new bishop's first work was to reform his predecessor's catechism, and his second to reform the breviary. I think there is a good deal of human nature in America as well as in France."

The Third Plenary Council appointed a committee of six bishops to prepare a catechism for official adoption, but closed while the work was still under way, and in 1885 Archbishop Gibbons approved "*A Catechism of Christian Doctrine*, prepared and enjoined by order of the III Plenary Council of Baltimore". It is a synthesis of all that seemed best in earlier catechisms, but combined with its original matter is much that was taken from McCaffrey's and Butler's catechisms. The latter had constantly gained favor and had been suggested by several bishops as the catechism to be revised and adopted by the Council. Criticism of the new catechism arose at once. While it was a good synopsis of theology, it was not, its critics truly said, a good handbook for children. Soon various editions appeared with word-meanings, explanatory notes, and even with different arrangements, so that there is even now considerable diversity in the books that go by the name of the Catechism of the Third Plenary Council.

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CRITICISM OF THE CLERGY.

I.

SO LONG AS WE AGREE with Cardinal Newman that men and not angels are the ministers of the Gospel, human failings will appear as permanent factors in the life of the Church. In a day such as ours, when freedom of speech is universally taken for granted, criticism of the clergy on account of such failings is inevitable. Followers criticize their leaders by the spoken and printed word throughout all political social, industrial, and cultural life. The habit thus acquired will hardly stop at the threshold of the Church. Not even the beautiful trust of the faithful in the priesthood, nor the reverences of faith, nor the divine sanction of priestly authority can prevent either all failings on the part of priests or all criticism on the part of the laity. It is not an easy task to deal wisely with criticism in the life of the Church. Any attempt to suppress it would be futile, and if it were not futile it would be unwise.

Such a policy would undoubtedly lead in the direction of an anti-clerical movement, as one member of the Hierarchy said recently to a friend. The former was prompted to make his remark by his impression of the volume of criticism now to be heard among the laity. There is no practical method of measuring the extent or the basis or the outcome of such fault-finding. It would be a mistake to overrate its importance or to underrate it. Letters which reach the office of THE ECCLESIASTICAL REVIEW, other communications that are sent in with a view to publication, and casual inquiries made here and there in the course of travel, give evidence of a spirit of criticism that should invite the attention of the clergy in some effective way.

These evidences are not exclusively of lay origin. Many of them come from clerical lips or clerical pen. That disappointing clerical behavior should be observed is by no means new to the Church. That the Code of Canon Law recognizes this is well indicated by canons 2147 to 2194. We meet here provisions for dealing with pastors who fall short of the ideals of priesthood and whose behavior receives searching criticism on the part of the laity.

If critics never spoke falsely, the problem would be worthy of attention. But when they speak with lack of judgment, utterly mistaken interpretation and without the restraints of justice, prudence and charity, the difficulty is increased one hundredfold. One may venture the opinion that no advance in general education seems to diminish the quantity and quality of gossip in social life. The talent for it is not reserved to any social class and clerical circles themselves are by no means free from it.[1]

Sensitiveness to criticism is practically universal. It is extremely difficult to take a wholesome attitude toward it, one that permits us to profit by it when deserved. Criticism is so often unjust and mistaken that when it is well founded it is not welcomed. One is apt to adopt a defensive indifference to it which has a bad effect upon any character. Relatively little criticism of ourselves reaches us. One does not need much imagination to visualize the criticism which we do not suspect. The inhibitions of culture and Christian character hinder much criticism from ever coming to the attention of its object. It is not difficult for the priest to construct a theoretical Christian attitude toward criticism. Jealous respect for the priesthood as a whole and impersonal respect for its ideals, the mandates of humility, docility and truth offer sufficient guidance to any priest as he deals with personal criticism. "To confess one's faults or mistakes, to acknowledge and undo the evil one has done is always noble and beautiful. There is nobody more ready to apologize than a gentlemen. A disregard for the feelings of others is an outcome of coarse feeling or of pride or of hardness of heart." [2]

In everyday life as one comes and goes, the priest is the priesthood. That is to say, the respect in which the priesthood

[1] Newman's sermon on Rebuking Sin sets forth severe restrictions on those who feel called to criticize superiors. "When men imagine it to be their duty to rebuke their superiors they get into difficulties for the simple reason that it is and ever will be difficult to do another's duty. When the young take it upon them to set right their elders, private Christians speak against the clergy, the clergy attempt to direct their bishops or servants their masters, they will find that generally speaking the attempt does not succeed; and perhaps they will impute their failure to circumstances—whereas the real reason is that there was no call on them to rebuke at all. . . . Very seldom, only in extreme cases for instance as when faith is in jeopardy or in order to protect or rescue the simple-minded, is a man called upon in the way of duty directly to blame or denounce his superiors."

[2] *Daily Thoughts:* Abbé Hogan.

is held is affected profoundly by what the individual priest says and does. A conspicuous illustration was brought to attention sometime ago. A priest who had business dealings with a certain firm repudiated a small debt because the creditor had no legal document to prove it. As soon as the amazed creditor recovered from the shock which he felt, he at once sent orders to a number of branch houses never to trust any priest at all in similar circumstances. One such instance will do more harm than the good example of a hundred priests can overcome.

II.

One may set aside such general considerations and note points in the life of the priest toward which criticism seems in these days to be directed. A few are selected because instances of them have been met in a number of cities and they have been mentioned by a wide variety of persons both clerical and lay from whom information was received or sought. Mere illustration is intended, in order to serve those who may wish to deal with the problem effectively in personal life. I do not know how often these points are mentioned, among the laity. In fact one discriminating friend with whom I discussed the matter stated that he had never heard any criticisms of the kind here mentioned.

It is said that parish priests tend to become dictators and that there is no opportunity to bring complaints to the attention of the clergy without fear of their active displeasure. There is no particular evidence that lay people have any desire to usurp clerical authority in parish life. I have never met any case of this kind. Many of the laity feel, however, that if they have legitimate complaints about any aspect of parish life it ought to be possible to make these known with courtesy and without fear of active or implied resentment on the part of the priest. The situation is particularly aggravated if personal remarks are made in the pulpit or offensive attitudes are taken which spring from resentment or dislike. Such instances stir the spirit of criticism profoundly and, if faith is not directly injured, the joy of faith is destroyed.

One hears it said rather frequently that in view of the suffering of countless Catholic families during the present depres-

sion, demands for contributions to the Church are made with an emphasis and pointedness that cause grave distress even to the most loyal members of the congregation. Of course, no one overlooks the plight of so many of our parishes whose commitments in the form of debt never anticipated the adverse effect of depression on income. The world will never know the hidden sufferings of these times. Those who have been made sensitive through disaster and whose self-respect leads them to hide their sufferings are made unhappy by insistent appeals for money which they cannot give. There is plenty of evidence that kindness, sympathy, understanding and courtesy not only do not reduce but on the contrary actually augment parish income during these hard days. There are signs that this criticism is widespread and rather disturbing to the placidity of Catholic life.

One very well written communication from a lay writer was sent to the office of the REVIEW not long since at the suggestion of a distinguished ecclesiastic who shared the view expressed. Complaint was made about roughness of language heard over the radio in an address by a priest. At a clerical meeting recently at which the minor faults of the clergy were discussed with great frankness, an elderly priest quoted from a sermon of a young priest language that was inexcusably offensive to anyone of fine feeling.

On one occasion a woman of culture and unusual spiritual discernment consulted an elderly priest about a choice of a spiritual director. She preferred a young confessor whose zeal and idealism she thought would make him sympathetic. A priest was suggested. She went to make her first confession on a Saturday afternoon in the parish church. A moment later after she entered the confessional the slide was pushed back with unnecessary noise and speed and she heard a voice say, "Make it snappy". Shocked by this substitute for the usual blessing, she left the confessional and never returned.

We are all familiar with the complaints that are made about sermons, by priests no less than by the laity. One finds that the laity take a good-natured attitude about the matter and cease to expect better sermons at any time, and the problem rests there. It is told that at one time three practical Catholic men spent their Sunday forenoons visiting churches in a large

city that is predominately Catholic, in order to discover the kind of sermons that were being preached. It was their custom to lunch together after the Mass and to dissect the sermon. At the time that the story was told they had heard no sermon that satisfied the standards by which their judgments were made.[3]

A priest of middle age met recently on a boat which was making a Mediterranean cruise a number of representative Catholic laymen the evidences of whose loyalty and intelligence left nothing to be desired. They complained to him with practical unanimity about many details of Catholic life. Although they represented a number of localities and separate cities in the United States, they were unanimous in finding fault with harsh methods in raising money now, evidences of personal luxury in clerical life and a growing spirit of wordliness which they believed often affected the influence of the priesthood as a whole. One of the men remarked to his clerical hearer, "I could never lose my faith in the Church, but I can imagine myself losing faith in the clergy if these tendencies were to develop."

The liturgical movement is awakening an intelligent and zealous interest in our church services and the people are becoming more observant of the way in which these are conducted. Pointed criticism is heard frequently concerning the rapid, perfunctory and unintelligible recitation of public prayers with a striking lack of dignity and poise in the celebration of the Holy Sacrifice of the Mass and widespread lack of insistence on the meaning of the Mass and its parts. In so far as these observations were brought to attention it seemed that the criticism arose not in a petulant way but from a sincere and edifying desire to share in the offices of the Liturgy.

There is much complaint about the way in which confessions are heard on crowded afternoons in churches. The spirit of hurry seems to dominate everyone. Reasonable opportunity to seek advice on distressing personal problems is too often

[3] One can hardly refrain from finding fault pointedly with any such procedure as this. It shows an entirely perverted notion of a sermon or of the business of the individual Catholic to take care of his own spiritual interests. The attitude amounts to this: "I am perfectly willing to be edified if the preacher will permit me to dictate the terms by which I shall be edified." The story is *male sonans.*

lacking. Anything like leisurely spiritual direction or attention to the needs or distress of a penitent is often withheld. A long communication was received recently in the REVIEW office from a group of Catholics who asked if anything could be done to provide opportunity to take up their personal problems in confession.[4]

Before the depression disorganized work among the poor and created the new type of poverty, there was complaint among Catholic and non-Catholic workers about the amazing indifference of some priests to the poor. It was manifested by intolerance, curt language and unwillingness to listen to requests for information or assistance. An occasional instance of this furnished material for gossip that travelled widely. Meantime the whole-hearted devotion of priests to the poor everywhere could not overcome the unfavorable impression that resulted.

A number of communications received in the office of the REVIEW make an earnest plea that all priests who preach or lecture on birth control make sure that their reasoning as to facts and principles and even personal dilemmas of the laity be accurate. It appears that there is a lack of coherence and definiteness in the opinions of many priests who have been consulted and those who have received advice compare notes and gain only confusion and uncertainty. The following is taken from a letter to the Editor. "Very many priests, particularly young priests, are woefully uninformed and some are still more woefully aggressive in their ignorance on the physical and psychical facts of sex which they really should know if they are to interpret some of the moral questions connected with it. One could almost tell some funny stories on the 'breaks' they make, God love them, except that the 'breaks' frequently show such utter lack of understanding and are accompanied by such unreasonable accusations that penitents are tempted to rebellion." This correspondent asked for general and definite direction as regards marital continence as represented by the "Rhythm" theory and hoped that in all public discussions they who speak be adequately informed and keep

[4] There are many sides to these problems. See, for instance, the article of Father Fulgence Meyer, O.F.M., "Congestion at the Confessional," ECCLESIASTICAL REVIEW, vol. 80, February 1929, p. 169.

emotion and statement in close relation to scientific truth. The communication contained a number of illustrations of alleged grave inaccuracies as to statement of fact. They are not reproduced here because we are dealing mainly with mental attitudes and not with the determination of the measure of truth involved. In dealing with a problem as acute as birth control, utmost care is called for in every statement as to principle or fact. Our critic complained of absence of both within the range of the critic's own observation.

III.

These illustrations are offered for what they are worth. They are taken from life and they are in fact under-statements. Whatever the frequency or rarity of clerical faults, our chief concern is that by the magic of gossip one fault can do the work of a thousand faults and cause hurt to the good name of the priesthood. Everything in the training and mission of the priest should develop in him an intelligent Christian attitude toward his faults. He spends several days every year at a retreat at which he is supposed to do much serious fault-finding with himself. His ordinary spiritual reading reminds him constantly of the duties of his high office and his responsibility for the good name of the priesthood. The drilling in humility, docility, and truth-seeking which every priest receives should enable him to overcome natural recoil against criticism and dispose him to learn from the mistakes that are brought with discriminating kindness to his attention.

Notwithstanding all of this, one is inclined to ask whether or not priests have any distinctive attitude toward criticism. The recoil of human nature against it, the instinctive unwillingness of human nature to profit by it yield slowly to the action of grace and a true spiritual ideal. That very much criticism is unwarranted, that much of it is prompted by unworthy motives is, of course, to be expected. But emotion is a curious thing that overleaps boundaries and defies restraint. One cannot argue with or refute emotion. Criticism touches our emotions deeply and then the ways of wisdom are hard to find. Acute sensitiveness to criticism discourages even one's best friends from making it known. Criticism of priests by priests, criticism of priests by the laity may be expected, but another ele-

ment enters the situation when the priest takes the layman into his confidence and tells him the shortcomings of his pastor or his fellow priests. This is perhaps one of the most thoughtless forms of criticism, one which does little credit to the clerical informer and probably much harm to the recipient of the information.

IV.

Attention has been directed to personal criticism of priests chiefly. But there is an impersonal criticism directed not toward the priest in particular but rather toward the priesthood as a whole, toward the Church in action. Many priests seem to be indifferent to this, whereas it should rouse their concern and lead them to action. There can scarcely be any doubt that very much of the progress that has been made in the fields of Catholic education and charity is due to an intelligent and forthright attitude toward criticism. In both fields leaders have been willing to go far in self-criticism, to sift out what might be true and helpful in criticism that came from outside sources, and they have been ready to take advantage of progress wherever found. There is always danger in a self-complacent attitude. There is always danger in taking flattering attitudes regardless of the facts of the case. But our charities and educational work have not been self-complacent. They illustrate well the significant rôle in progress that is served by criticism.

Criticism of a general character is heard in relation to the excessive patience with political graft and indifference to industrial justice. It is not unreasonable to ask the priesthood to represent the standards of Christian honesty in politics. When we meet Catholic leaders who are indifferent to political integrity, or Catholic groups which display a dwarfed social conscience, criticism of the Catholic name is invited and questions are asked about the spiritual leadership of such groups. If priests in general are indifferent to political graft, if they make no protest against it, if they cherish friendly relations with men who are known as grafters, the efficiency of our social and moral teaching is brought into question. Of course the Church wishes not to interfere with politics as such. It is easy enough to denounce sin, but how is one to deal with the sinner

in public? We denounce forgery, adultery, wife-beating, drunkenness as sins, but we stop short of naming the sinners.

There was a story told many years ago about a scholarly archbishop long since dead who was asked to preach at the funeral of a political boss of great power. He refused. The committee that approached him insisted and would not be denied. The archbishop was reported to have said that they would not like the kind of a sermon that he might preach. They expressed no concern whatever about this and thereupon the archbishop accepted. At the funeral service he went into the pulpit and spoke as follows, according to the story: "Mr. X is dead. I am told that he made his peace with God before he died. It is well for him that he did so. May he rest in peace."

It may be that our schools, including seminaries, and our pastors have not provided adequate social guidance in regard to obligations toward social life. Indifference to political integrity is a national fault by no means confined to Catholics. When any citizen is elected to public office there should be some kind of provision for his instruction in what we call "the duties of one's station in life". One may well doubt if it ordinarily occurs to any public official to seek such instruction from a spiritual and moral standpoint.

A grocer who is a good Catholic may be an honest man and be known as such. His conscience as a grocer is enlightened and effective. His moral judgments are fixed and satisfactory. He abhors cheating, deception and fraud and he is incapable of all three as a grocer. And he may have little moral vision beyond this. But if he is elected to a city council or a legislature he is confronted by new forms of temptation and is exposed to the action of forces with which he is unfamiliar. He may be unable to see evil in petty graft, and so the honest grocer's conscience remains unadjusted to new forms of wrong doing. Swift social transitions from one field to another are not always accompanied by a transfer of training which makes one morally as strong in the second circle as in the first. The advance from petty graft to major graft in politics is easy enough when an enlightened and adjusted conscience is lacking. Social apathy, willingness to support candidates for office regardless of character, willingness to bribe or benefit by brib-

ery have had much to do with political corruption. No one can deny that the Church has a serious mission here. A priest who recently took up the problem spoke as follows:

In such a campaign Catholics are fortified by the century-old teachings of the Church. In her concept sin is the leprosy of spiritual existence. Graft is the leprosy of public vitality. It is not enough to have the truth. We must know the truth and apply the truth. Only then can a knowledge of the truth make us free. By her doctrine of divine source of all civil authority and by her insistence on the spiritual character of civil obedience the Church stands in the forefront of those who dream of a purer official life in all the ranks and departments of our diversified American government. The Catholic press, the Catholic public platform and the Catholic leader must hold all Catholic public officials to strict accountability.

IV.

Much criticism of the clergy has been heard because of the indifference to the interests of industrial justice. Although there is a noble tradition of Catholic thought and social criticism coming from Bishop Von Ketteler down through the Papal Encyclicals, universities, seminaries, Catholic organizations, Episcopal pronouncements and a most impressive literature: although appeal to the clergy to take profound interest in social problems and social justice is constant on the part of the Supreme Pontiffs, hierarchical organizations and competent lay leadership, it is only in recent years that the response has been in some measure worthy.

There is much that may be said here. No good purpose is served by clerical activity in this field if the priest is not well trained. This brings us to the seminary, which we are inclined to blame. But the seminary depends upon its theological text books.[5]

[5] One recalls the scholarly criticism of Dr. Bouquillon in his article, "Moral Theology at the End of the Nineteenth Century," in the *Catholic University Bulletin*, April, 1899, p. 244. He complains: "The science has failed to put itself in touch with new currents of thought, failed to anticipate problems of life and to win consideration for the solution which it offers. Modern civilization has forced to the foreground serious problems which properly belong to the domain of Moral Theology, but the world has not asked that science for guidance in making them. Even the clergy seem to be satisfied with the narrow professional side, for when important questions arise, such as those of wages, property and land, education, they as a rule seek solution not in a profound study of the principles of Moral Theology but elsewhere." Dr.

Real progress has been made since 1899 when Dr. Bouquillon's criticism was written. It would hardly be justified to-day, although much remains still to be done to make the priesthood in general equal to its opportunities in bringing the principles of Christian living to bear upon industrial life.

The history of the Industrial Conference organized by the National Catholic Welfare Conference furnishes an illustration. It has met in twenty-eight cities in recent years, offering opportunity to Cathoic employers and labor leaders to come together in friendly discussion of problems of industrial justice. Notwithstanding thorough-going methods of publicity and personal appeal the attendance and participation have been most discouraging. To an extraordinary degree priests remain indifferent to the conferences, manifesting little desire to be informed or to be helpful. That much might have been done on the part of the clergy to develop these conferences is self-evident. One would like to see more done to attract Catholic lay leaders in industry to these conferences and to attract priests to them. A few years ago when the Director of the Industrial Conferences arranged for special clerical conferences the response on the part of the priests was enthusiastic.

There have been Catholic industrial leaders who resented any interest on the part of the priests in industrial questions. One such leader of great power protested strongly against the Reconstruction Program of the Bishops of the United States and he later admitted that he had never read it.

Of course, one can do but little with the criticism that originates in extreme radical circles. The priesthood has held the confidence of the orthodox labor movement to a marked degree. It is hardly to be denied that we could have done more to remedy dreadful housing conditions in the slums, in the protection of children, the improvement of playgrounds, the correction of conditions among laboring women and a hundred similar situations that have been left largely to the slow processes of social reform and the stimulation of merely philanthropic ideals. It would be difficult to account for this con-

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dition. Traditionally the priest keeps out of politics and many of these problems have taken on color from politics. It may be that the extremely individualistic attitude of Moral Theology has prevented many priests from seeing obligations here. The inertia of tradition has had its share of influence. The development of Catholic Action which has taken on imposing proportions, gives promise of the strengthening of the social conscience and of pointing the way for its effective operation. The improvement of texts in Moral Theology, the strengthening of related social sciences in seminary courses, our highly competent but insufficient clerical leadership, and the agony of the world in the present depression are factors now that will make industrial justice and political integrity objects of personal concern where once they were scarcely recognized as problems at all. If priests do not lead they will have to follow. They will make the choice.

V.

The illustrations offered throughout these pages are intended to serve merely as the basis of appeal. The priest who wishes to do his duty well and to honor the Church and help souls by his services should set out to gain a correct attitude toward personal criticism, criticism of the priesthood as a whole, criticism of the work of the Church. After allowing for coarse motives and contemptible impulses in much criticism, many salutary lessons can be found in the criticism that is justified in fact.

THE EDITOR

Analecta

SACRA CONGREGATIO DE SEMINARIIS ET DE STUDIORUM UNIVERSITATIBUS.

PONTIFICII COLLEGII CIVITATUM FOEDERATARUM AMERICAE SEPTEMTRIONALIS ADMINISTRATIO.

EXCELLENTISSIME DOMINE

Pontificii Collegii Civitatum Foederatarum Americae Septemtrionalis de Urbe res et fortunas tueri atque, pro temporibus rerumque adiunctis provehere, si proprium est Sacrae huius Congregationis, ad me pertinet etiam quia eiusdem Collegii tutelae iamdiu ut Patronus praesum.

Quem in finem, ut Institutum nempe tam praeclarum, ex quo plurimi Evangelii praecones ad pietatem et scientiam diligenti institutione informati prodierunt, nova incrementa accipiat, Nobis, occasionem LXXV anni ex quo Collegium conditum est nactis, visum est Episcoporum coetum, cui Collegium ipsum administrandi munus incumbit, ampliare et augere.

Leo XIII quidem, gloriosae recordationis, Litteris Apostolicis " Ubi primum " d. d. 25 Octobris 1884, quibus Collegium canonice erexit ac nomine et titulo Pontificio decoravit, inter leges ad quas idem Collegium moderandum esset praescribebat ut: " administratio universa Collegii ab Archiepiscopis et Episcopis Foederatorum Statuum Americae Septemtrionalis, vel a

Praesulibus ab ipsis ad id muneris legitime deputatis gereretur". Quapropter laudatae Reipublicae Archiepiscopi et Episcopi in Concilio Baltimorensi II, Augustae Summi Pontificis voluntati plene obsequentes, omnes, uno animo, sibi proposuerunt memoratum Collegium *tueri, fovere, ornare et, quantum possent, collatis consiliis opibusque amplificare.*

Itaque, ut quod Christi Vicarius iam edixerat et locorum Ordinarii constituerant impleatur et plenum exitum sortiatur, haec decernimus quae sequuntur:

Collegii Administratio concredita sit:

1) Omnibus Foederatorum Statuum Americae Septemtrionalis Em.mis Cardinalibus, *ex officio;*

2) Archiepiscopo Baltimorensi item *ex officio;*

3) Quatuor aliis Praesulibus, in annuo Episcoporum conventu eligendis, quorum singulis annis unus e munere excidat et novus in eius locum succedat, ab eodem Episcoporum coetu similiter electus.

Quae SS.mo D. N. Pio Pp. XI cum subiecissemus, idem Summus Pontifex ea adprobare et confirmare dignatus est.

Spe autem certa suffulti, Administratorum impensis curis et studiosissima opera, salutares fructus Collegii multiplicatum iri, intimo ex animo caelestem gratiam, per Deiparam Immaculatam, illis imploramus.

Inter qua par est reverentia sensus obsequentis animi mei, Tibi, Excellentissime Domine, obtestator.

Excellentiae Tuae Reverendissimae
in domino addictissimus
CAIETANUS CARD. BISLETI
Praefectus
ERNESTUS RUFFINI, Secretarius

Excell.mo ac Rev.mo Domino
D. A. IOANNI CICOGNANI
Archiepiscopo Tit. Laodicen. in Phr.
Americae Sept. Statuum Foederatorum
APOSTOLICO DELEGATO
Washington.

SUPREMA SACRA CONGREGATIO S. OFFICII.

SANCTIONES CANONUM 2320, 2343 § 1, 2367, 2369 CODICIS IURIS CANONICI EXTENDUNTUR AD UNIVERSAM ECCLESIAM NEDUM LATINAM SED ETIAM ORIENTALEM.

DECRETUM

Cum ex expresso Ssmi D. N. Pii divina Providentia Pp. XI mandato ad Supremam hanc Sacram Congregationem Sancti Officii delata fuerit quaestio an sanctiones contentae in cann. 2320, 2343 § 1, 2367, 2369 Codicis iuris canonici, quibus quaedam delicta excommunicatione latae sententiae specialissimo modo Sanctae Sedi reservata plectuntur, extendantur ad universam Ecclesiam, Emi ac Revmi Domini Cardinales rebus fidei morumque tutandis praepositi, omnibus mature perpensis, praehabitoque Sacrae Congregationis Orientalis et Sacrae Paenitentiariae Apostolicae voto, in plenario conventu habito Feria IV, die 12 Iulii 1934, decreverunt huiusmodi sanctiones, attenta omnino extraordinaria ipsorum delictorum gravitate, extendi ad universam Ecclesiam Latinam et Orientalem cuiuscumque ritus, atque eorumden delictorum cognitionem quoad forum internum Sacrae Paenitentiariae, quoad forum externum Sancto Officio reservari.

Et sequenti Feria V, die 19 eiusdem mensis et anni, Ssmus D. N. D. Pius divina Providentia Pp. XI, in solita audientia Excmo ac Revmo Dno Assessori Sancti Officii impertita, relatam Sibi Emorum Patrum resolutionem adprobare et suprema Sua auctoritate confirmare dignatus est, et publici iuris faciendam iussit.

Datum Romae, ex Aedibus Sancti Officii, die 21 Iulii 1934.

I. VENTURI, *Supremae S. Congr. S. Officii Notarius.*

SACRA PAENITENTIARIA APOSTOLICA.

(Officium de Indulgentiis)

PRECES IN MEMORIAM QUINQUE SACRORUM VULNERUM D. N. I. C. RECITANDAE INDULGENTIIS LOCUPLETANTUR.

Occasionem nactus recentissimae solemnitatis Pretiosisssimi Sanguinis Iesu Christi Domini nostri, Ssmus D. N. Pius divina Providentia Pp. XI, in Audientia concessa infrascripto Cardinali Paenitentiario Maiori die 6 vertentis mensis, benigne largiri dignatus est *partialem trium annorum indulgentiam* omnibus christifidelibus, qui pia mente ac saltem corde contrito quinque Pater, Ave, et Gloria cum precatiuncula "Sancta Mater, istud agas . . ." recitaverint in memoriam quinque Vulnerum, ex quibus pretiosissimus ille Sanguis in cruce permanavit; et *plenariam indulgentiam* semel in mense suetis conditionibus lucrandam, si quotidie per integrum mensem eadem recitatio peragatur. Praesenti in perpetuum valituro absque ulla Apostolicarum Litterarum in forma brevi expeditione et contrariis quibuslibet non obstantibus.

Datum Romae, ex Aedibus S. Paenitentiariae Ap., die 9 Iulii 1934.

L. CARD. LAURI, *Paenitentiarius Maior.*

I. TEODORI, *Secretarius.*

DIARIUM ROMANAE CURIAE.

Pontifical Appointments.

Assistant at the Pontifical Throne:

26 March, 1934: The Most Rev. John B. Peterson, Bishop of Manchester.

Protonotaries Apostolic ad instar participantium:

27 February, 1934: Monsignor Thomas H. McLaughlin, of the Diocese of Newark.

17 March: Monsignor George P. Johnson, of the Diocese of Portland.

25 April: Monsignor Patrick P. Crane, of the Archdiocese of St. Louis.

26 June: Monsignor John Joseph Nash, of the Diocese of Buffalo.

7 July: Monsignor Henry A. Buchholtz, of the Diocese of Sault Sainte Marie and Marquette.

Domestic Prelates of His Holiness:

27 February, 1934: Monsignors John J. Dauenhauer, George L. Fitzpatrick, Edward A. Kelly, Paul Knappek, Robert J. Byer, Leonard Borgetti, William A. Keyes, James T. Delehanty and Felix Di Persia, of the Diocese of Newark.

3 March: Monsignors John O'Brien, Adalbert Frey and Roger A. McGinley, of the Diocese of Newark.

15 March: Monsignor Jeremiah J. Duggan, of the Diocese of Hartford.

20 March: Monsignor Michael John Mullins, of the Diocese of Portsmouth.

24 March: Monsignor Francis Thomas Jansen, of the Diocese of Fort Wayne.

6 April: Monsignor Robert Jutras, of the Diocese of Mont-Laurier.

12 April: Monsignors Edward Savage and Henry D. Cormier, of the Diocese of St. John, N.B., Canada.

25 April: Monsignors John Rothensteiner, James J. McGlynn and John Lyons, of the Archdiocese of St. Louis.

15 May: Monsignors Henry F. Clark and Joseph F. Croke, of the Diocese of Savannah.

9 June: Monsignor Peter M. H. Wynhoven, of the Archdiocese of New Orleans.

Monsignors Eugene O'Callaghan and Henry Tohall, of the Archdiocese of Armagh.

14 June: Monsignor Edmond McCoy, of the Diocese of Calgary.

20 June: Monsignors Joseph Augustine Selbach and Conrad Saile, of the Diocese of Green Bay.

24 June: Monsignors John C. Carr, William J. Schreck and Edward J. Rengel, of the Diocese of Buffalo.

11 July: Monsignors Henry J. Kaufman, Anthony A. Klowo, Walter R. A. Marron and William F. Murphy, of the Diocese of Detroit.

Studies and Conferences

Questions, the discussion of which is for the information of the general reader of the Department of Studies and Conferences, are answered in the order in which they reach us. The Editor cannot engage to reply to inquiries by private letter.

OUR ANALECTA.

The Roman documents for the month are:

SACRED CONGREGATION OF SEMINARIES AND UNIVERSITIES notifies the Apostolic Delegate to the United States of the new Board of Administration for the North American College, Rome.

SUPREME SACRED CONGREGATION OF THE COUNCIL decrees that the sanctions of canons 2320, 2343 § 1, 2367, 2369 of the Code extend to the Universal Church, Oriental as well as Latin. These canons have to do with offences which carry with them excommunication reserved to the Holy See *specialissimo modo.*

SACRED PENITENTIARY APOSTOLIC through the Office of Indulgences announces the grant of indulgences for certain prayers said in memory of the Five Sacred Wounds of our Lord; namely, a partial indulgence of three years to the faithful who piously and contritely recite Pater, Ave and Gloria five times and the prayer, "Sancta Mater, istud agas . . .," in honor of the Five Wounds; also, a plenary indulgence may be gained once a month, under the usual conditions, by those who recite the same prayers daily during the month.

ROMAN CURIA publishes officially recent pontifical appointments.

NATIONAL CATHOLIC EVIDENCE CONFERENCE.

To the Editor, THE ECCLESIASTCAL REVIEW.

The third annual National Catholic Evidence Conference was held at the Knights of Columbus Hall in Detroit, 22-23 September. The Conference was organized originally in 1932 in New York City at the invitation of the New York Catholic Evidence Guild. It was first known as the National Conference of Catholic Evidence Guilds, but at the second meeting

in Washington in 1933 the name was changed to the National Catholic Evidence Conference, to include not only Evidence Guilds whose objective is park and street speaking for the explanation of Catholic teaching, but also other groups that do Evidence work in any form, whether by writing, public speaking or broadcasting.

Mr. James Hayes of the New York Evidence Guild and national president of the Conference, presided. The Most Reverend Michael J. Gallagher, Bishop of Detroit, addressed the Conference, expressing profound interest in its work and describing the progress already made in his own diocese by the Evidence Guild. Round Table discussions of personal appeal by mail and of the services of the press and literature, as well as of the use of the radio and indoor talks before Catholic and non-Catholic audiences, brought out a most interesting range of experiences in the work. Under the direction of Mr. Karl Rogers of Narberth, Pennsylvania, the Catholic Information Society prepares leaflets of about a hundred words each. These are sent to all non-Catholics who express a willingness to receive them.

The New York Guild confines its efforts at present to the use of the radio several times a week over two local stations. Reports showed that local stations reach a public that does not make contact with national hook-ups. Within the past year the Knights of Columbus through the Supreme Council officially undertook the sponsoring of local Evidence Guilds through their local councils. The Washington Guild carried a weekly program of twenty hours in open-air meetings that were addressed by eighteen licensed speakers.

Miss Elizabeth Brownson, granddaughter of the American philosopher, Orestes A. Brownson, reported on the work of several hundred Catholic women in the instruction of eleven thousand Catholic children in attendance at public schools in Detroit.

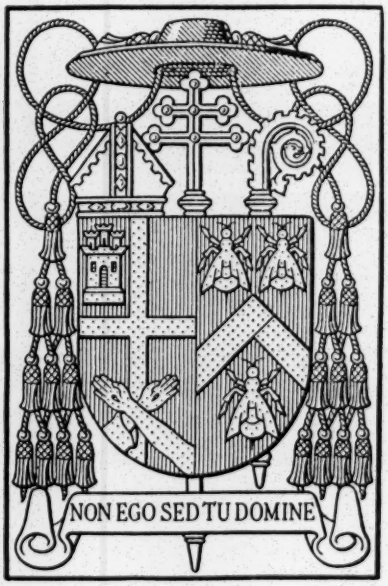
Priests who are interested may obtain information from Mr. Thomas Diviney, Secretary of the Conference, Bank of Manhattan Building, Bridge Plaza, Long Island City, New York. The organization has a letter of cordial approval from His Holiness Pope Pius XI.

CHARLES A. HART,
Director, Washington, D. C.,
Catholic Evidence Guild.

RECENT EPISCOPAL ARMS.

I. Arms of the Archbishop of Santa Fe.

Two coats impaled. A: Gules, a cross debruised in base with the conformities of Saint Francis and in the canton a castle, all gold (See of Santa Fe). B: Gules, a carpenter's

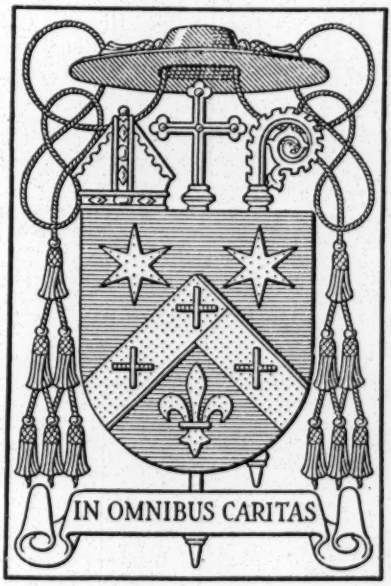


square as chevron between three bees gold (Gerkin). The arms of the Archdiocese[1] express the old Spanish name of the city—"the Royal City of the Holy Faith of Saint Francis of Assisi". The castle is from the royal arms of Castile, the coloring of which is gold on red. The Archbishop's personal insignia were explained in the Review[2] on his appointment to the See of Amarillo. He is the second Archbishop to use the arms of the archdiocese.

[1] Vol. LXI, No. 6, p. 682.
[2] Vol. LXXXI, No. 2, p. 184.

II. Arms of the Bishop of Sita, Auxiliary to Saint Louis.

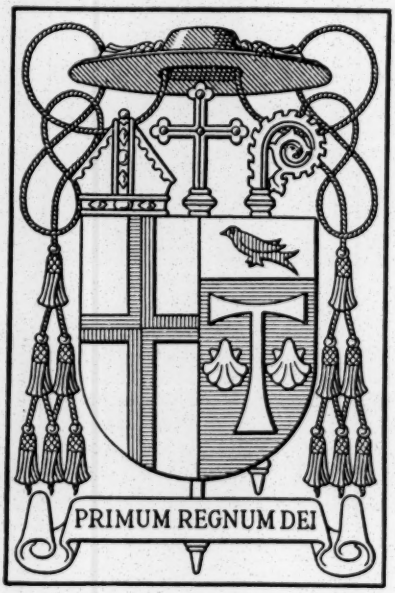
Azure, on a carpenter's square as chevron, between two stars of six points and a fleur-de-lis, all gold, three couped crosses gules (Winkelmann). The German word "Winkel"



means "angle," "corner" or "nook," and through extension has come also to mean a carpenter's or mason's square. The prelate's baptismal name, Christian, is indicated by the three crosses on this square. The stars are from the arms of Saint Francis de Sales, of whose church he is Rector, and the fleur-de-lis is from the arms of Saint Louis.

III. Arms of the Bishop of Siene.

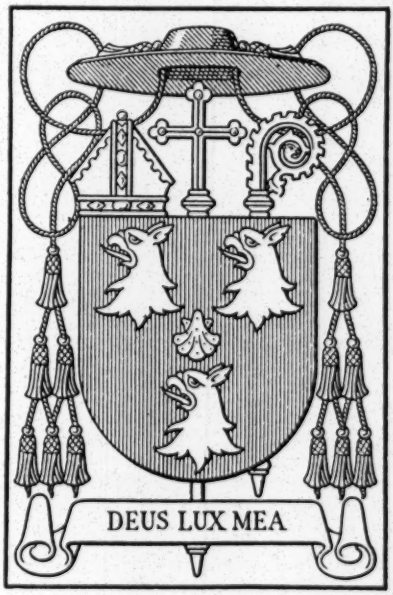
Two coats impaled. A: Silver, a cross quarterly azure and gules (Catholic Foreign Missionary Society of America). B: Azure, a Tau-cross between two escallops in fess silver, and, on a silver chief, a martlet gules (Walsh). In the jurisdictional half of his shield the prelate places the arms of the Society which he rules as Superior General. On his personal impalement he expresses his baptismal names, James and



Anthony, by the heraldic attributes of these two Saints, while the "chief" is a modest abbreviation of the well-known Walsh arms, to complete the identification. The Vicar Apostolic of Kongmoon, himself a Walsh and a member of the same Society, impales the arms of his vicariate with the Walsh coat, and, above the latter, places the Maryknoll arms on a chief. These different dispositions of the arms of the Society exemplify the correct usage for a superior general, without extraneous jurisdiction, whether in episcopal orders or not, and an episcopal member of the Society with a jurisdictional cure.

IV. Arms of the Bishop of Modra.

Gules, three silver griffon heads and, between them, a gold escallop (Ryan). The Rector of the Catholic University of America uses simply the fine old coat of his family, with the



attribute of Saint James, his name Patron, for difference. Should the University at any time adopt corporate heraldry, he, as Rector, would be entitled to impale the University arms with his personal insignia.

Pierre de Chaignon la Rose.

CORPORAL INSTALLATION OF PASTORS.

Qu. Canon 1443 forbids an appointee to take possession of his benefice by his own authority, and canon 1444 prescribes that he be formally installed unless the Ordinary's written dispensation take the place of formal installation. We all know that in this country pastors are rarely, if ever, formally installed in their parishes. What is more, it appears that no written dispensation from formal installation is issued. These points prompt the following questions:

1. Do pastors enjoy valid possession of their parishes in these circumstances?
2. Are the marriages at which they assist, valid?
3. Are the pastors obliged to apply Mass *pro populo*?

Resp. As our inquirer correctly implies, our parishes are benefices [1] and therefore the rules laid down in canons 1443-1445 are to be observed, when an appointee takes possession of a parish. These canons presuppose that he is already lawfully appointed. It does not matter in what way he receives his appointment—whether through *libera collatio,* election, nomination or presentation—[2] he may not himself enter upon the parish, but must be given actual possession of it by being introduced into it by the local Ordinary or his delegate.[3] Moreover, he must make the profession of faith prescribed in canon 1406 § 1 n. 7, even if he had made this profession of faith at a previous appointment to another parish.[4]

The *institutio corporalis,* mentioned in canon 1443 § 2, is distinguished from the *institutio verbalis.* The latter is the appointment or (if the candidate is presented, named or elected by others than the Ordinary of the place) the approval of the

[1] ECCLESIASTICAL REVIEW, LXXXIII (1930), 391.

[2] In this country only two methods of appointment come into consideration, viz., *libera collatio* for secular parishes, and presentation for religious parishes. And the latter does not call for the *institutio corporalis,* though it does require the profession of faith. Cf. L. Fanfani, *De Iure Parochorum* (Taurini: P. Marietti, 1924), n. 96, *A*). The corporal institution is demanded also for religious pastors by Blat, *Commentarium Textus Codicis Iuris Canonici,* (Rome: Typogr. Pont. in Instituto Pii IX, 1923), lib. III, partes II–IV, n. 344.

[3] This holds even if the parish were conferred by the Holy See, unless the rescript dispenses from it. Canon 1443, § 2. Cf. M. Pistocchi, *De Re Beneficiali* (Taurini: P. Marietti, 1927), pp. 222-227; P. Maroto, *Institutiones Iuris Canonici* (Madrid: Editorial del Corazon de Maria, 1919), I, n. 602.

[4] Canon 1443, § 2. S. C. Consist., 1 March, 1911—*Acta Ap. Sedis,* III (1911), 134. At the same time the oath against Modernism must be taken. Cf. S. C. S. Off., decree, 22 March, 1918—*Acta Ap. Sedis,* X (1918), 136.

candidate by the local Ordinary; the former[5] is the actual induction of the appointee into the parish. It is usually accompanied with greater or lesser solemnity in the presence of the congregation. Rossi[6] describes the manner of installation of a pastor prescribed by the XXXIII Synod of Bergoma (1930). The clergy assemble in the sacristy with the Ordinary or his delegate. The administrator of the parish is vested in surplice and stole and the new pastor is vested in surplice or, if he enjoys the right to wear it, in rochet. The latter is conducted in procession to the church while the *Benedictus* is sung. At the door of the church the document delegating the respective ecclesiastic to perform the installation is read. Entering the church, the officiator seats himself before the altar at the Epistle side. The new pastor kneels before him, and the administrator stands beside the latter. The officiating prelate then invests the new pastor with the mozetta, and, divesting the administrator of the stole, invests the new pastor with it. The latter is then conducted by the officiating prelate to the presbytery, where he sits in his proper place. Next he is led to the high altar, which he kisses in the middle and both sides, receives the key to the tabernacle, and touches the sacred vessels and oil-stocks. Then he is led to the baptistery and the confessional. He is directed to ring a small bell and to open and close the door of the church, which he enters and blesses the faithful with holy water during the singing of the *Asperges*. Finally he is conducted to the pulpit, where the officiating prelate addresses a short sermon to the congregation, as does also the new pastor. Afterward the document of institution is read and signed by the officiating prelate, by the new pastor, by the administrator and two witnesses. This document is then sent to the episcopal curia.—A double *institutio corporalis* is, according to Sipos,[7] in vogue in Hungary. The one which takes place *in curia* is the giving of possession of a parish to an appointee by document issued through the episcopal curia. This is the strictly juridical investiture. The other is an actual induction with presentation of the new pastor to the congrega-

[5] Variously called *introductio in possessionem, institutio corporalis* or *realis, inthronizatio, investitura, installatio, captio* or *apprehensio possessionis*. Maroto, *loc. cit.*

[6] *De paroecia* (Rome: Fr. Pustet, 1923), n. 182.

[7] *Enchiridion Iuris Canonici* (Pics: Haladas R. T., 1926), p. 741.

tion: to the latter he assigns no juridical value in law, asserting that it is juridically irrelevant ("iuridice est irrelevans").

The common law does not prescribe any particular form of corporal institution, but canon 1444 § 1 leaves it to particular law or to legitimate custom to determine the exact manner of installation. No such elaborate and formal ceremonial as epitomized above from Rossi, is necessary. It may be a much simpler formality, without the presence of the clergy and the faithful. At the same time, it does not seem that the Hungarian practice, as described by Sipos, fully meets the requirement of canon 1411 § 1. This canon makes provision for a dispensation from the formal induction, but a dispensation from that manner of corporal institution would not differ one whit from the latter, since both would be a decree of the Ordinary. Some form of inauguration which is presided over by the Ordinary or some one delegated by him, and at which the administrator turns over to the appointee the charge of the parish without an elaborate public ceremonial, seems to be the least that will properly fulfil the intent of canon 1444 § 1.

It may now be asked whether and in how far some formal induction is required. It is beyond dispute that appointment alone does not suffice to give actual possession of the parish to the appointee. But neither does any ceremonial appear necessary. It would seem that a mere decree supplementing the appointment by actually placing the new pastor in possession of the parish will, strictly speaking, suffice for the validity of installation. No matter how solemn or how simple the ceremonial of installation, the placing of a pastor in actual charge of the parish is the one juridicial effect, and there does not appear to be any reason why a decree would not suffice to effect this juridically and validly.

Another practical point leads to the same conclusion. In most dioceses of this country there is neither particular law nor legitimate custom, such as canon 1444 § 1 ordains must be observed at the corporal installation. It would, therefore, seem to be left to the prudence of the Ordinary which method of installation is to be followed. If he chooses to do it by decree, that would, it seems, be sufficient for the valid giving of possession of the parish to the appointee. Furthermore, the common practice of making the appointment and transferring

possession of the parish by setting the date on which the tenure of office begins, would seem to suffice, so far as the validity of the installation is concerned.

Nevertheless it is regrettable that sixteen years after the Code no provision has been made for such a law and it is to be hoped that an early plenary council will outline the method of installation. In the meantime provincial councils or diocesan synods will have to enact their own laws. Although canons 1443 and 1444 do not certainly render invalid the usual method of taking possession of a parish in this country, they nevertheless require a more specific form of installation, so that immediate development of a proper manner of corporal institution seems mandatory.

Our inquirer raises the question whether the *institutio corporalis* in places where a formal method for it is established by particular law or custom, is required by canon 1444 § 1 under pain of invalidity. Some authors take the view that it is.[8] But it must be remarked that canon 1444 § 1 does not contain any clause that explicitly or equivalently requires the formal *institutio corporalis* for validity (as canon 11 demands). That may account for the silence of most authors on this particular phase of the question. Hence it may be concluded that the formal corporal institution, while obligatory, is not binding under pain of invalidity. Therefore it seems that any manner of installation which the ordinary chooses will suffice for the validity of the appointee's taking possession of the parish, even though it does not properly fulfil the precept laid down in canon 1444 § 1.

From the above there is no gainsaying that, in dioceses where no special regulations for the installation are in force,—

[8] M. Pistocchi, *De Re Beneficiali* (Turin: P. Marietti, 1928), pp. 228-230, seems to incline to this view. More positive is Dr. Charles E. Park, "The Necessity of Installation of Pastors", *Register of the Diocese of Harrisburg, Pa.*, V (1929), 258-263, 281-284, where is found the particular law for the diocese of Harrisburg. In reading his article one must bear in mind that in numerous places the author is discussing, not so much the general law of the Church, as rather the particular statute of his diocese. Moreover, some of the points he touches upon secondarily are open to question. Thus the categorical denial of parochial jurisdiction (pp. 258-259) is at variance with several canons of the Code which grant pastors jurisdiction in the strict sense, e. g. for hearing confessions (canon 873, § 1), for matrimonial dispensations (canons 1044-1045), for dispensation from fast and abstinence (canon 1245, § 1).

1. pastors who have not been formally installed after the special manner which cannon 1444 § 1 contemplates, hold their parishes validly;

2. consequently no question can be raised against their validly assisting at marriages within their parishes;

3. they are obliged to say the Mass *pro populo.*

VALENTINE T. SCHAAF, O.F.M.

PRE-NUPTIAL AGREEMENT TO FOLLOW THE SAFE PERIODS OF THE "RHYTHM" THEORY.

Qu. Mary and John, both Catholics, have agreed to contract marriage with the distinct understanding to observe faithfully, "ad prolem evitandam", the Ogino-Knaus period of sterility. As Catholics they are opposed to birth control by artificial and contraceptive methods. They strongly believe, however, in using "legitimate" means to attain this end. They have studied the "Rhythm" of sterility and fertility. They know all about the "Cycles", and they have mutually agreed to observe strictly the "safe period" as explained by Doctors Ogino, Knaus et al. to prevent conception.

Since procreation of children is the primary end of marriage (C. 1013), would a distinct and mutual agreement, entered into by Mary and John before their marriage, to observe faithfully the Ogino-Knaus period of sterility in order to avoid offspring, affect the validity of their marriage "ex capite defectus consensus ob exclusum bonum prolis"?

Resp. If the pre-nuptial agreement explained by our correspondent is merely an *intention,* even though mutually expressed and accepted, and does not limit the *right* to use marriage during the periods which are considered more likely for conception, the marriage is not invalid on that score. If, however, by their agreement Mary and John deny each other the *right* to use marriage during the said periods, very probably the marriage is invalid. The reason why the invalidity of the marriage cannot be asserted with certainty is that canon 1086 § 2 speaks of the exclusion of *omne ius ad coniugalem actum.* This phrase needs consideration. The import of this

point was treated more fully in the Conference entitled " Pre-Nuptial Agreements ".[1]

The distinctions made there apply, *mutatis mutandis,* to the present question and for a fuller explanation our readers are referred to that Conference. In this connexion it will be well for priests to be on their guard against advising or approving such agreements—even though not meant as a restriction of marital rights. The theory of the so-called " safe periods " is at this stage not above challenge and, except when honorable motives warrant, to reduce it to practice is not above reproach (some believe, even of grievous sin). Priests ought rather to encourage marriage that will fulfil the divine precept to the human race to " increase and multiply."

VALENTINE T. SCHAAF, O.F.M.

ABSOLUTIO COMPLICIS ONCE MORE.

Qu. The Conference "Absolutio Complicis" in the June 1934 issue, p. 623, has given rise to the following question: What is a confessor to do if a woman confesses a sin she had committed with him when he was still studying, on the supposition that she does not recognize him but that he recognizes her?

Resp. It is presupposed that the mutual sin was one against chastity, for only those of that nature become the basis for the withdrawal of faculties for the particular person and case.

The fact that the two had sinned together before the confessor had received Orders does not exempt him from the prohibition of absolving his accomplice *in peccato turpi.* He is deprived of all faculties to absolve her from this sin except in danger of death. If he should nevertheless absolve or pretend to absolve her, he would incur excommunication reserved *specialissimo modo* to the Holy See, as was explained in the Conference referred to by our inquirer.

It should be borne in mind, however, that this prohibition regards only the first absolution from the mutual sin. It will rarely happen that the priest's accomplice will have delayed

[1] ECCLESIASTICAL REVIEW, LXXIX (1928), 403-408. Cf. also B. Timlin, *Conditional Matrimonial Consent,* The Catholic University of America, Canon Law Studies, n. 89 (Washington, 1934), p. 308; I. Salsmans, " Sterilitas Facultativa Licita?", *Ephemerides Theologicae Lovanienses,* XI (1934), 568.

confessing the sin several years. A prudent question may reveal the fact that the woman is merely repeating this sin from which she has been directly absolved by some other priest. In this event the priest who had been her accomplice may absolve her, even though she confesses their mutual sin; if he can avoid it, it were better that such a priest never hear the confession of his accomplice.[1]

If, however, the woman has not been absolved from the mutual sin, it is beyond dispute that the priest who, before his ordination, had sinned with her, cannot absolve, as was pointed out in the Conference already mentioned.[2] This our correspondent will no doubt admit *per se* and antecedently. He probably means to inquire whether or not the prohibition holds in the given circumstances, since the fact that the penitent does not recognize the confessor as her accomplice in the sin which she confesses, places the confessor in a difficult position. In reply to this question a distinction will be in order. If the woman knows that her accomplice has since been promoted to Orders, it will not be a serious task for the priest to refuse to absolve her, even if by this refusal she is led to recognize him as her accomplice: it will involve neither a further disgrace to the priest nor a new scandal to the woman. Nevertheless the

[1] This advice, but only advice, is given in a decree of the Holy Office of 29 May, 1867: "Liberum esse confessario absolvere personam complicem, quae a peccato complicitatis inhonesto absoluta jam fuit per alium confessarium; dandum tamen semper consilium confessario, de quo agitur, ut, nisi cogat necessitas, se abstineat ab excipiendis personae complicis, licet jam a peccato complicitatis absolutae, sacris confessionibus." — A. De Smet, *De Absolutione Complicis et Sollicitatione* (2. ed., Bruges: C. Beyaert, 1921), n. 153.

[2] Genicot-Salsmans, *Institutiones Theologiae Moralis* (12. ed., Louvain: Museum Lessianum, 1931), n. 352, 3°, except this case from the prohibition of absolving. But their arguments are unsatisfactory: they beg the question in part, for they presuppose that the penitent had been already absolved from the mutual sin by another confessor. In that event the prohibition would no longer apply, whereas in the present case absolution has not been obtained from another confessor. Again, they argue that the reason for the prohibition (viz., anticipating spiritual harm to penitents) does not ordinarily exist where the mutual sin was committed before the confessor was ordained: this reason suffers from a double flaw: (a) the danger is not always absent, and (b) violence is done to the principle of laws not ceasing to bind even in instances where their purpose does not exist, unless they cease *in contrarium*, which latter is not verified in the case under discussion. Hence their general exception of cases where the mutual sin was committed before the ordination of the confessor is both at variance with the decision quoted in the Conference in the June issue and is based on unstable grounds. Ballerini-Palmieri, *Opus Theologicum Morale* (3. ed., Prati: Giachetti, Filii et Soc., 1900), V, n. 416, use the latter argument for the same conclusion, in the case where an interval, say of twenty years, lapses before the confession.

priest will have to be on his guard lest there should thereby arise a further danger of *sollicitatio ad turpia in confessione.* If, however, the penitent does not know that her accomplice had been raised to the priesthood, the case presents a peculiar difficulty. Even in this supposition the priest will *per se* be forbidden to absolve his accomplice. But if refusal to absolve her would expose him to an inescapable danger of very great disgrace ("gravissimae infamiae periculo ineluctabili")[3] or place the penitent in a similar danger or cause her or others a very great scandal, he would in the opinion of not a few authors be excused and could validly and licitly absolve his accomplice.[4] In the absence of any such danger the confessor in question could not validly or licitly absolve his accomplice.

VALENTINE T. SCHAAF, O.F.M.

PASTOR CANNOT COLLECT BACK SALARY.

Qu. A pastor served for several years in a struggling parish. To enable the parish to meet its debts the faster, he drew only half the salary stipulated in the diocesan statutes, but without donating the other half. He is now in need and wishes to know whether or not he can seek payment of the half of his salary which he did not take when due.

Resp. The Third Plenary Council of Baltimore anticipated that numerous evils might arise from pastors not collecting their salary as it fell due and therefore ordained that, if any pastor did not take his salary within a year from the time when it fell due, he had renounced his claims to it and could not later recover the amount unpaid, unless he had made a demand for it in writing which had been approved by the Ordinary or his chancellor. Thus it is stated in n. 281: "Ob gravia secus oritura incommoda monemus sacerdotes ut congruam suam seu salarium, nisi id ecclesiae donare velint, opportuno tempore exigere et percipere non negligant. Ideo statuimus eos qui pecuniam ea ratione sibi debitam infra annum a termino quo

[3] De Smet, *op. cit.*, n. 12.

[4] De Smet, *op. cit.*, n. 18. It may be remarked that frequently any dangers arising from the necessity of the penitent's going to Communion can be overcome by advising the penitent to make an act of contrition and to receive Communion without absolution, if she cannot well go to confession to another priest at this time. *Ibidem.*

solvenda erat, percipere omiserint, aut saltem non exegerint per scriptum ab Ordinario vel eius cancellario probatum, eo ipso renuntiasse juri suo, eosque nullo titulo postea summam istam repetere posse. . . ."

VALENTINE T. SCHAAF, O.F.M.

WIDOWS ENTERING RELIGIOUS STATE.

Qu. Can a widow become a nun? Even if it is permissible, has there been any case where a widow has entered the religious life?

Resp. Canon 542 n. 2 forbids, under pain of invalidity, the admission of a married person as a novice of a religious institute, so long as the bond of marriage continues. Once the marriage is dissolved, usually by death, the husband or wife may be received into the novitiate and to profession. It makes no difference whether the marriage was consummated or not, whether the institute has solemn or only simple vows. It is true, the constitutions of some institutes may forbid the reception of widowed persons, but this is a special provision of the individual institute. Whether the respective regulation of such constitutions obliges under pain of invalidity of the admission to the novitiate and to profession must be learned from the constitutions themselves.

There are innumerable cases of canonized saints as well as of other widows, both living and deceased, who have entered religion after the death of the husbands; there are some who entered during the lifetime of the husbands. This is now forbidden under pain of invalidity of the novitiate and of the profession, unless a special dispensation has been obtained from the Holy See. This dispensation will not be granted unless the other spouse consents and there is no danger of scandal.

VALENTINE T. SCHAAF, O.F.M.

"CITATIO EDICTALIS" IN DIOCESAN ORGAN.

To the Editor, THE ECCLESIASTICAL REVIEW.

In the October issue of the REVIEW, p. 414, one of your correspondents, writing concerning the use of "citatio edic-

talis," states that he has never seen such a citation in diocesan organs in the United States. May I call to your attention the fact that under the conditions specified we make use of this method of citation by publication in the official organ of the diocese. The method has been followed for some years and it has produced results on occasions.

CHANCELLOR.

WHERE TO PLACE THE CHRISTMAS CRIB.

Qu. Where is the proper place in the church for the Christmas crib?

In a small church which has only one altar, is it permissible to have the crib inside the altar-rail, but placed to the right or left of the altar?

Resp. Any convenient place (particularly if the church is small) that will not interfere with the liturgical functions, may be selected for the Christmas crib.

AUTHORIZATION TO GIVE THE APOSTOLIC BLESSING.

Qu. How is one authorized to impart the Apostolic Blessing with plenary indulgences at the end of a retreat or mission?

Resp. Ordinarily, regulars have the faculty of imparting the Apostolic Blessing. The diocesan clergy may obtain it by applying to the bishop. It is required that only one Our Father, Hail Mary and Gloria be recited.

FRIDAY ABSTINENCE.

A correspondent asks about conditions which excuse one from the obligation of Friday abstinence, particularly when dining at a friend's home where meat is served. The question was answered rather fully in our issue of June 1933, p. 629, only a few months before the inquiry was sent in.

The communication was anonymous. Those who send questions are asked always to sign their names, which are withheld in publishing the Conference.

Criticisms and Notes

A PRIMER OF PRAYER. The Rev. Joseph McSorley, of the Paulist Fathers. Longmans Green and Co., New York. 1934. Pp. 120.

The reading of Father McSorley's *Primer* is somewhat like a visit to one's birthplace. Old-fashioned attachments to it are sources of deeply penetrating joy. This book reminds us of the sense of reality of the spiritual world which we achieved in childhood, of the mystery and solemnity with which we learned our first awkward prayers and felt that God was very near.

The full purpose of the author is conveyed by his happy use of the word *Primer*. His book has the simplicity (essentials are simple after all), directness and fervor that are witnesses to the truth. The book drives one back to an intimate personal note in spiritual life, a note that is sometimes lost by excessive attachment to system and form. I would offer Father McSorley's *Primer* as readily to a theologian as to a child, as confidently to a bishop as to a seminarian.

I have heard of parents who had the habit of reading their children's text books with delight in order to rediscover what is meant by square root, decimals, greatest common divisor, and fractions. Some of the joy came from the clarification of elementary concepts and some of it came in subtle ways through memories stirred by the visit back to one's childhood studies.

We adults in the spiritual order can gain a new hold of elementary spiritual concepts by going back to Father McSorley's *Primer*, just because it is a *Primer* and suited to one's youth. Father McSorley tells us about Vocal Prayer, Meditation, What to Say to God, Helps and Hindrances. The ease with which we find an approved formula for the expression of every kind of spiritual emotion or aspiration beguiles us away from the more personal expression of inner spiritual life in our own words. One has no way of knowing how many devout persons, clerical and lay, improvize their prayers. The practice of doing so has the highest spiritual value. Probably we become more personal and original in devotion as we grow in spiritual vision. It is just possible that we would grow more rapidly in holiness if we cherished the habit of using our own words, our own emotions and thinking, in our habits of prayer. "To make a prayer nothing more is needed than to speak to God out of the fullness of one's heart." "People do this sort of thing best in their own words. Therefore, the best prayer they can use is likely to be that which they make up themselves."

We should not underrate the importance of formal prayers. They carry a wonderful spiritual tradition for us and record the illumination of favored souls, but we can add much to our own spiritual vigor by "home-made prayers" of which the author speaks. If we are to become like little children, let us pray like them. Father McSorley's *Primer of Prayer* points the way. It may be recommended without a single reserve as a delight, a refreshing spiritual book.

THE CATHOLIC WAY IN EDUCATION. By William J. McGucken, S.J., Ph.D. Bruce Publishing Company, Milwaukee. 1934. Pp. xvii+131.

PRINCIPLES OF JESUIT EDUCATION IN PRACTICE. By Francis P. Donnelly, S.J. P. J. Kenedy & Sons, New York. 1934. Pp. xiii+205.

Priests would do well to use their influence to have Father McGucken's book read widely both by Catholics and non-Catholics. Both groups need to have their eyes opened to what is being foisted upon a long-suffering people under the guise of education. We have so much faith in the second sober thought of Americans that we believe if the facts were more widely known, there would be a stop to at least the worst of our pedagogical tomfoolery. Father McGucken is thoroughly at home in the field of American education; he knows the strong points as well as the weak spots of both Catholic education and the secular system, and does not mince words in attacking the evils of both systems.

The author is wise in quoting non-Catholic authorities in support of his contention that much is rotten in the secular schools. Faunce, of Brown, is quoted as saying that here in America, "we have the largest public-school system on earth, the most expensive campuses and college buildings, the most extensive curriculum. But nowhere else is education so pointless, so aimless, so blind to its objectives, so indifferent to any specific outcomes as in America". Pritchett, of the Carnegie Foundation, agrees that "the striking characteristic of our schools under the process of enrichment of the curriculum is superficiality coupled with tremendous rising cost". Thornton, of Virginia, raises his voice in lamentation that our American colleges and universities are being filled with students "the majority of whom can neither read intelligently, nor write respectably, nor spell correctly, nor compute as accurately as an ordinary grocer's clerk". A professor at Columbia University who has a nation-wide reputation for his work in education pronounced as follows on our American school system: "Here in America we are making one of the greatest

social experiments — perhaps the greatest social experiment — the world has ever seen, in attempting to make education universal. It is too soon to say definitely how it is going to turn out. We can't even yet make an intelligent guess. But we might as well get down to bedrock by admitting that so far it has been an almost complete failure."

Catholic schools have not wholly escaped the deterioration. Some of our teachers have lost their heads over the solemn nonsense of modern educational literature and have succumbed to what Mr. Mencken scornfully calls "that master-quackery called education". Father McGucken's chapter on "Modern Psychology and Catholic Education" should prompt some Catholic educators to examine their professional conscience. However, our very poverty has helped to preserve us from the worst features of the public-school system.

Father McGucken is honest in acknowledging certain good features of our American schools. He pleads for the preservation of certain splendid features—the spirit of initiative, the desire of our boys and girls to do things on their own, the deserving extra-curricular activities, such as debating and school papers, that have no counterpart in the French or German schools. Hence the book is not merely negative in denouncing evils. The chapter that is perhaps most constructive is the one in which the author proposes his ideal goal for Catholic educational developments. He envisions his own model of the Catholic school and sets it high upon a mountain for all to view. He calls it "a complete workable scheme of Catholic education suitable to a diocese or city in twentieth-century America". The reviewer knows the scheme to be feasible, since it has been tried out with the best of results in a midwestern diocese.

Father McGucken maintains that his "unpretentious" book is not written for the professional doctors in education, but is intended chiefly for "the Catholic laymen and laywomen who are making such heroic efforts to support Catholic education". Perhaps, because of this audience the author disdained the use of footnotes and bibliographical references; yet there are readers who would wish to verify some of the quotations and who would desire to investigate the evidence furnished by non-Catholic writers.

In the ideal school, as planned by Father McGucken, not only the classical authors will be read, but also Christian literature—for instance, the Missal, one of the Gospels and selections from the Acts of the Apostles. Father Donnelly, however, in his Principles of *Jesuit Education in Practice*, is partial to the pagan classics: "For supplementary reading the *Ratio* offers a wide range, but for intensive study it wants the ideal. It looks for form and art and

focuses attention on that. Out of all Latin literature it chose the best. . . . There is no doubt excellent Latin and excellent Greek in the Church Fathers, but it is not always the best; it has not had the benefit of centuries of studies by teachers."

This difference of opinion, though it may appear trifling, is significant of deeper differences between the two books: Father Donnelly is more conservative in his views on the *Ratio* and allows for fewer adjustments of the system than does Father McGucken. In fact, Father Donnelly's book might almost have been produced at the time of the Renaissance, so slight is the change in the spirit of his recommendations. Nevertheless, he exhibits the pedagogy of the Renaissance at its best: he is a master of the *Ratio's* technique in teaching form and expression, and thus meets an urgent need of our present-day schools. If we are to judge by what we see in college students' papers to-day, our secondary schools are failing miserably in teaching the art of expression. Many of our teachers would therefore profit a great deal by looking into the workshop of one who has proven by his many published works that he is a master not only of theory but also of the art of language.

THREE NOVELS, BY MRS. WILFRID WARD: "Out of Due Time," "One Poor Scruple," "The Job Secretary." New York: Longmans, Green and Company. Pp. 1054.

The publication of this new edition of Mrs. Ward's novels, following her death last year, offers an occasion for a reëvaluation of her work. For over thirty years Mrs. Ward wrote novels in the Catholic tradition, picturing in quiet, delicate colors the social life of her epoch, and presenting with understanding and sympathy the ethical and religious problems that occupied the cultivated minds of England during and succeeding the days of the Oxford Movement. Now that her writings can be viewed in perspective, it is possible to determine the contribution they have made to the world of English letters.

The three novels in this collection are fairly representative of the power that their author brought to her work. They will not be remembered for their unusual plot structure, nor yet for any distinction in character portrayal. In truth, the style of the narrative is often stiff and unnatural, and the characters unreal and lifeless, viewed in the light of modern canons for the successful novel. Perhaps *The Job Secretary* will not be remembered at all, for it has little to recommend it. The chief value of the other two novels lies in their historical interest. Nowhere more accurately than in *One Poor Scruple* can one find depicted English Catholic society at the

moment when it is trying to adjust itself to the sudden influx of converts that accompanied and followed Newman and Manning into the Church. The attitude of the family at Skipton-le-Grange toward the new converts is typical of that of conservative Catholics of the period, who had always taken pride in a strict seclusion from their Protestant neighbors and so received the newcomers with mixed feelings. Mrs. Ward does full justice to the loyalty of the faith and the pride of race that prompted that attitude, but at the same time realizes the pathetic narrowness of social outlook that viewed with such unreasonable antagonism the aims and aspirations of the new converts. The picture of life at Skipton, with its devout squire, who made his daily meditation in the family chapel, and his exacting and scrupulous wife, who condemned *Adam Bede* as a wicked book, with its hansom cabs and its chaperones and its absurd conventionalities, are vividly reminiscent of a dimly remote past.

Out of Due Time is even more interesting historically than *One Poor Scruple,* and is by far the best of the three works. Under a thin disguise the author bases this story on the Modernist movement, which in the early years of the century centered around the figure of Father Tyrrell. For a few brief years the subject was of palpitating importance to a little group of intellectual Catholics with whom Wilfrid Ward, as editor of the *Dublin Review* and as one of the foremost writers of the day on religious questions, was intimately associated.

The hero, Count Paul d'Etranges, the man "born out of due time", is a proud, brilliant young scholar whose ambition it is to dedicate his life to the cause of bringing the teaching of the Church into harmony with modern science. The Catholic Church, so rich in treasures of light and thought, was the only hope, he held, of a faithless world and of the darkened human intellect. The new sciences—physical discovery, and the new world of fact revealed in the biblical historical criticism—were real sciences, yet capable of being consecrated or perverted according as their devotees belonged to the faithless world or pursued them in that higher devotion to all truth and reverence for the ideal, which belonged to the genius of the Church. He was strong in his invective against the mass of existing Catholics, who, in perverse blindness, set aside these treasures as of no account and who, instead of preserving the new sciences in the sanctuary of the Church, would hand them over to the outer world. He was typical of the self-appointed reformer of all ages, tenacious of his own ideas, uncompromising and intolerant of opposition—one of whom Burke might have said: "His life was mostly spent in fighting the blunders and sins of others with sins and blunders of his own." Opposed by his bishop, who feared that in

helping souls in one direction he might endanger those in another, and who felt that it was a greater duty to guard the faith of the little ones of Christ than to convince a scribe of righteousness, he appealed to Rome. Intellectually incapable of submitting to the judgment of the Church, he renounced his faith. Artistically, this defection is the true climax and end of the book. But Mrs. Ward, with true Victorian love for finality, must needs assemble all the characters on the stage at the end of the volume, with the Count in the midst as a Dominican priest, converted, after fifteen years, through the prayers of a devoted sister.

It was a well known fact at the time the book was published that Sutcliffe, the friend and enthusiastic admirer of the Count, was drawn from the character of Wilfrid Ward, and that the whole story was woven out of real episodes in the life of the Wards. Consequently the greatest value of the novel is its biographical interest. In no other novel does Mrs. Ward seem to be so thoroughly at home with her subject. Her style here has a beauty and elegance and depth of sincerity not found in her other works; her reflexions on life and problems are sharper; and it is here as nowhere else that she reveals the spiritual splendor of her mind.

The present-day Catholic will continue to read this book when Mrs. Ward's other novels are forgotten, for he has seen its prophecy fulfilled. The time has indeed come when "the new knowledge is no longer in the possession of the solitary student, but has come out in the busy world to be found on railway bookstalls and on the tables of the club and messroom."

HOW TO TEACH THE CATECHISM. Vol. I for Grades I-III; pp. vii+228: Vol. II for Grades IV-VI; pp. xx+313: Vol. III for Grades VII-VIII; pp. vii+334. By the Right Rev. Monsignor M. A. Schumacher, M.A. New York: Benziger Brothers.

The Baltimore Catechism has often been under fire, but is still used almost exclusively as the text book in religion throughout our Catholic school system. Hence there is need always of literature to assist both priests and teachers in making that text book less unattractive and more intelligible. Monsignor Schumacher has therefore rendered a real service to all who are engaged in religious instruction by producing his three volumes, *How to Teach the Catechism.* Pastors would do well in getting two sets, one for their own libraries and another for the Sisters' or the Brothers' library.

The author has realized his aim "to take the Catechism out of the realm of parrot-like repetition of answers and make a living thing out of it". His book offers an eight-year course of graded work—

with a plan not merely for every year but every month of each of the eight years, with amplifications and explanations of all the matter treated. The sequence followed is that of the Ecclesiastical Year, but by means of "cycling" programmes the teacher can easily adapt the material to his own requirements. The author has arranged his work units to coincide with each month's work. As to method—each lesson opens with a practice in keeping with the season of the feast, suitable prayers or poems to be memorized, the question and answer of the Baltimore Catechism, followed by an explanation of terms, suggestions for graphical illustrations where practical, and other pedagogical aids. Related Bible History is then taken up and explained together with the moral application. In short, the books are intended to serve as self-sufficing handbooks for the teacher of religion. The alphabetical index appended to each volume will assist the busy worker in locating quickly whatever explanation may be needed for the moment.

GRUNDRISS DES EHERECHTS NACH DEM CODEX IURIS CANONICI. By Johannes Linneborn, S.T.D., Ph.D. Fourth and fifth edition prepared by Joseph Wenner, S.T.D., J.U.D. Paderborn: Ferdinand Schöningh. 1933. Pp. 502.

This fourth and fifth edition was begun by the author, but his labors were interrupted by a fatal disease that has since carried him off. Although the volume is but three pages longer than the first edition, this small difference in the number of pages does not at all indicate the expansion of the work. A slightly larger page, a more liberal use of small type, the omission of the text of the canons (which can be spared without loss) and the cancellation of certain quotations from older documents (this is to be deplored) made it possible to keep down the size of this excellent interpretation of the matrimonial legislation of the Church. A lengthy introduction based on the papal encyclical *Casti Connubii* constitutes the major portion of the increase. Recent documents of the Holy See and reviews of the earlier editions are given due consideration. Besides a good general bibliography mostly of recent works at the head of the book, the reader will find that each chapter is preceded by a special bibliography; the respective section is introduced with an historical note; then follows a full explanation of the prevailing canonical legislation; this is supplemented with an application of the civil laws of Germany and Austria which is set off so clearly from the canonical commentary that there is no danger of confusing the two. This thorough commentary on the marriage legislation is recommended to all who are conversant with the German language.

Literary Chat

In August 1927, His Holiness Pope Pius XI, observing during the first years of his pontificate the accomplishments of the National Catholic Welfare Conference, organized in 1919 by the Archbishops and Bishops of the American Hierarchy, wrote to the Bishops of the United States stating that their organization "is not only useful but necessary". "Since you reside in cities far apart", said His Holiness, "and there are matters of a higher import demanding your joint deliberation — as, for example, those relating to the Christian family, the education of youth, public and private morality, care of numerous immigrants, and other problems of this kind—it is imperative that by taking counsel together you all agree on one common aim and with one united will strive for its attainment by employing, as you now do, the means which are adequate and adapted to present-day conditions."

The Supreme Pontiff in closing his letter stated: "We praise all who in any way coöperate in this great work."

Each year, in acknowledging the annual reports of the Administrative Committee, N. C. W. C., the Cardinal Prefect of the Sacred Congregation of the Council has extended heartfelt congratulations to our Bishops for their accomplishments through the N. C. W. C. in promoting the glory of God and the salvation of souls.

That the successful maintenance of the National Catholic Welfare Conference by the Archbishops and Bishops of the United States has caused the hierarchies of a number of other countries to adopt similar means of unification is a source of satisfaction to Catholics here. During the fifteen years of its existence, the N. C. W. C. headquarters has been visited by numerous ecclesiastical authorities from outside the country as well as by many of the foreign clergy and laity. In addition to this personal observation of the organization and functioning of the Conference, the literature describing its work—especially the annual reports of the Archbishops and Bishops comprising the N. C. W. C. Administrative Committee — has been the subject of widespread investigation and study with the result that in England, Germany, France, Spain, Austria, Canada and South Africa, agencies similar to the N. C. W. C. have been set up. The hierarchies of these countries have, as did our Bishops in 1919, grouped together under an official central organization the various agencies by which the cause of religion is furthered. This has been done, as in the United States, in a purely voluntary manner and with each Ordinary having full independence in the management and direction of diocesan programs and activities.

Another evidence of the zeal on the part of our Bishops in developing a timely and useful literature dealing with the many educational, moral, social and religious problems—many of them of international import—confronting society to-day, is to be found in the N.C.W.C's latest folder of publications. This folder lists nearly 200 different publications—books, booklets and pamphlets dealing with such subjects as Education, Labor, Peace, Citizenship, the Family, Rural Life, Study Outlines, and a great many miscellaneous topics. Naturally the Encyclicals of our Holy Father are featured in the list, as are certain addresses of the Apostolic Delegate to the United States, His Excellency Archbishop Cicognani.

That the increasing circulation and study of N.C.W.C. literature is contributing largely toward "extending the mind of the Church into the mind of the world" there can be no doubt. The Conference is to be congratulated on providing such a vast array of material for reading, study and discussion—material which furnishes that intellectual preparation which our Holy Father points out as fundamental and vital to successful Catholic Action.

We owe to the Paulist Press (401 West 59th Street, New York City) ten new pamphlets in a series entitled "Face the Facts". The Rev. Wilfred

G. Hurley, C.S.P. is the author. The format departs a little from the ordinary pamphlet type by new cover designs in colors which attract and please the eye. The author has made an effort to bring the fundamental truths of faith to his readers in simple everyday language as far as at all possible.

The Paulist Fathers were among the pioneers who recognized the rôle of the pamphlet in the service of religion. They have maintained a tradition that is a record of their unselfish service in that field. Father Hecker founded the Catholic Publication Society in 1866 to direct the entire resources of the press into a missionary apostolate. Its first work was to be the issuing of tracts and pamphlets telling the plain truth about the Catholic religion. He hoped to develop local societies which would buy the pamphlets at less than cost and distribute them gratis. The Second Council of Baltimore highly approved the work.

Whether or not Pope Pius X, the process of whose beatification has already been started, used the phrase "pray the Mass", there can be little doubt that the saintly Pontiff did wish that those assisting at Mass should really assist at the Holy Sacrifice and not merely attend it. Small wonder, then, that Catholic congregations everywhere are following more and more the action of the Mass on Sundays and weekdays, and that they are being well served with the means and aids to this end.

One of the latest of these assistances to come to hand is a new Mass book, entitled *The Catholic Missal* (P. J. Kenedy & Sons, New York). This translation of the *Missale Romanum* has been arranged for daily use by the Rev. Charles J. Callan, O.P. and John A. McHugh, O.P. Not only is it adapted especially for American Catholics, but it is the product of American printers, and a distinct credit it is to their craftsmanship. The type is well-chosen and large, the paper most suitable, the impression clear, and the volume itself (1248 pages) quite handy. The contents of the book have been arranged with an expert editorial eye to simplification and the reader's convenience. All in all, it suggests itself as an appropriate gift in time to be used at Mass on Christmas day.

Those who prefer their Mass book a little larger, and all in Latin, may have their wish gratified by the *Missale Romanum*, published by the Frederick Pustet Co., Inc., of New York. We refer to their new Ratisbon edition, size 6x8¾ inches, and containing 1050 pages. Whilst the English Missal just mentioned is a capital specimen of book-making, the Latin volume is in every respect superb. Our liturgical books always catch and delight the eye of the lover of fine typography and binding, and in themselves inspire reverence for their sacred contents, for they are worthy caskets of the jewels they contain. This new small *Missale Romanum* offers itself as an admirable present at this time of the year for the priest's study or for chapel use by seminarians.

A sixteen-page pamphlet written by the Most Rev. Philip R. McDevitt of Harrisburg calls general attention to a surprising kind of philanthropy in Hershey, Pennsylvania. The chocolate manufacturer, Milton S. Hershey, whose business is located there, has developed and endowed The Hershey Industrial School for the residence and education of poor white orphans. These are admitted between the age of four and fifteen and are kept until the age of eighteen. The funds available for the school are practically unlimited. The management looks after the religious instruction of the boys and permits none of them to join any church until after the age of eighteen. A policy has been adopted of not permitting the students to go to any church for services.

As there are some Catholic boys in the school, the Rev. Dr. Charles E. Park, pastor of the one Catholic church in Hershey, called on the superintendent of the Hershey Industrial School to make arrangements for the Catholic orphans to receive religious instruction and to go to Mass and receive Holy Communion. The effort was unavailing. Bishop McDevitt called on Mr. Hershey in July 1933, in the hope that an arrange-

ment could be made for the religious care of Catholic boys. Mr. Hershey definitely refused to comply with the Bishop's request.

Bishop McDevitt's pamphlet (*The Hershey Industrial School*, Dolphin Press, Philadelphia) publishes the correspondence occasioned by his efforts to have the situation corrected. When the management of the school was asked to refuse admission to Catholic boys in order that their faith might be safeguarded elsewhere, the Bishop was informed that, "The Hershey Industrial School is a strictly nonsectarian institution and a child's religion cannot be a reason on the part of school authorities for either accepting or rejecting him."

The pamphlet is a revealing document in the history of education. The un-American and intolerant attitude brought into such intimate relation with a philanthropic foundation shocks any one whose heart has ever been touched by the spirit of true Americanism.

It is difficult to find books for children with a Catholic background which appeal to the child mind and at the same time satisfy the demands of literary excellence. *Maureen O'Day*, by Ruth Irma Low (Benziger Bros., 1933, 132 pp.), the story of an orphan child who is separated from her sister and suffers many distressing experiences before a reunion takes place, is entertaining in its narrative but highly improbable in character portrayal. In striving to teach a moral lesson the author fails to give a true picture of child life. Maureen is a faultless little girl, a paragon of every virtue, whose goodness is impossible of attainment by the normal child. A book of this kind gives wrong standards of literature to children in their formative years when their literary tastes are developing.

The Girls of Sunnyside, by May Nevin (P. J. Kenedy and Sons, 230 pp.), has more to recommend it in both interest and style. It is a delightful story for girls of high-school age, containing all the elements of romance and mystery and pathos which appeal so strongly to youth. The locale is the Irish countryside, and the story concerns the Mahoney family, Patricia and Ita and their little adopted cousin, Regina. The characters are normal girls with a fair share of faults mingled with their virtues; the interest in the plot is sustained to the end; and valuable spiritual lessons are presented quite naturally and without strain.

Sonny, by Stephen M. Johnson (Benziger Brothers, 1933, 168 pp.), is artistically written. Its appeal is universal; both young and old would find enjoyment in it. It is a book that will instil in the youthful reader's mind ideals of courage and loyalty, and yet the author accomplishes this end so subtly that one scarcely realizes that there is a sermon in the pages.

Himself, by David P. McAstocker, S.J. (The Bruce Publishing Company, Milwaukee, 1933; 138 pp.), and its companion volume, *Herself* (1934, 107 pp.), by the same author, present in popular form meditations on the virtues of our Lord and His Blessed Mother. The books are written in a bright, cheerful style, which tells much of the winning personality of their author and his deep and attractive spirituality. Anecdotes and story and rare bits of personal experience are all woven into the meditations to attract the reader to the more serious truths that are revealed in the reflexions on the personality of Christ as "Head of the House", "Master", "Friend", and "Brother", and on the prerogatives of Our Lady — her stainlessness, her generosity, her dignity. Father McAstocker uses generously his broad cultural knowledge to serve spiritual purposes. Now a lesson is drawn from one of Plato's dialogues; or a line from Chaucer furnishes a point of meditation on the unspeakable lowliness of God in espousing Himself to our human nature; or a metaphor from Keats is used to symbolize some aspect of Our Lady's loveliness. The books should appeal especially to the lay person, who will find in them a practical philosophy of life that is permeated with the wisdom that comes only through intimate union with Divine Love.

Books Received

SCRIPTURAL.

OUTLINES OF BIBLE STUDY. By the Rev. John C. Dougherty, S.T.L., Professor of Sacred Scripture, College of Mt. St. Vincent, New York City. Bruce Publishing Co., Milwaukee, Chicago, New York. 1934. Pp. xi—212. Price, $1.80.

LUTHER'S GERMAN BIBLE. An Historical Presentation together with a Collection of Sources. By M. Reu, Professor of Theology, Wartburg Seminary, Dubuque, Iowa. Lutheran Book Concern, Columbus, Ohio. 1934. Pp. xiv—226. Price, $4.00 *net.*

THEOLOGICAL AND DEVOTIONAL.

GOD AND HIS INFINITE PERFECTIONS. As Seen in Holy Scripture, the Doctors of the Church and the Saints. By Abbé Démurger. Authorized translation from the French by the Rev. James W. Kennedy. Benziger Brothers, New York, Cincinnati, Chicago, San Francisco. 1934. Pp. xxi—284. Price, $2.75 *net.*

WHITE WAMPUM. The Story of Kateri Tekakwitha. By Frances Taylor Patterson. Longmans, Green & Co., London, New York, Toronto. 1934. Pp. v—304. Price, $2.00.

CATHOLIC EVIDENCE TRAINING OUTLINES. Compiled by Maisie Ward and F. J. Sheed. Foreword by Cardinal Bourne, Archbishop of Westminster. Sixth impression, revised and enlarged. Sheed & Ward, Inc., New York. 1934. Pp. 334. Price, $1.00.

SAGA OF SAINTS. By Sigrid Undset. Translated by E. C. Ramsden. Longmans, Green & Co., New York. 1934. Pp. xiv—321. Price, $2.50.

ST. PATRICK, APOSTLE OF IRELAND. By Eoin Macneill, D.Litt., National University of Ireland; Litt.D. *honoris causa*, Trinity College, Dublin; Member of the Royal Irish Academy; Correspondent de l'Institut de France; Professor of Early and Medieval Irish History, University College, Dublin. Sheed & Ward, Inc., New York. 1934. Pp. vii—122. Price, $1.25.

ROSE OF CHINA (Marie-Theresa Wang), 1917-1932. Translated from the French of the Rev. E. Castel, C.M. by the Rev. Basil Stegmann, O.S.B. Benziger Brothers, New York, Cincinnati, Chicago, San Francisco. 1934. Pp. 131. Price, $1.50 *net.*

THE MAKING OF A PULPIT ORATOR. By John A. McClorey, S.J. Foreword by the Right Rev. Monsignor Fulton J. Sheen, Ph.D. Macmillan Co., New York. 1934. Pp. xix—193. Price, $2.00.

ST. THERESA MARGARET OF THE SACRED HEART OF JESUS (Anna Maria Redi). Adapted from the Italian, *Un Angelo del Carmelo*, of Friar Stanislaus of St. Theresa, O.D.C. by Monsignor James F. Newcomb, P.A., J.C.D., author of *Immolation* (Life of Mother Mary of Jesus) and *"My" Mass.* Benziger Brothers, New York, Chicago, Cincinnati, San Francisco. 1934. Pp. xii—255. Price, $2.00 *net.*

A ROSARY PROJECT. By Caroline M. Bouwhuis and Mary Gallagher. Queen's Work, St. Louis. 1934. Pp. 45. Price, $0.10.

"VERITAS." La Vie chrétienne raisonée et méditée. Par le R. P. Régis Gerest, O.P., Prédicateur Général. V: Face a l'Éternité. P. Lethielleux, Paris–6e. 1933. Pp. xvi—494. Prix, 20 *fr.*

PAROLES DE LUMIERE. Par le R. P. Eugène Bellut, S.J. P. Lethielleux, Paris–6e. 1934. Pp. ix—157. Prix, 8 *fr.*

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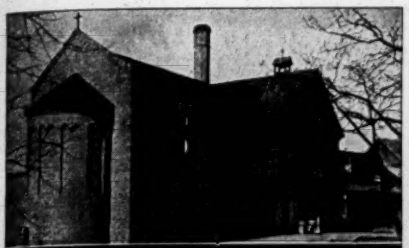

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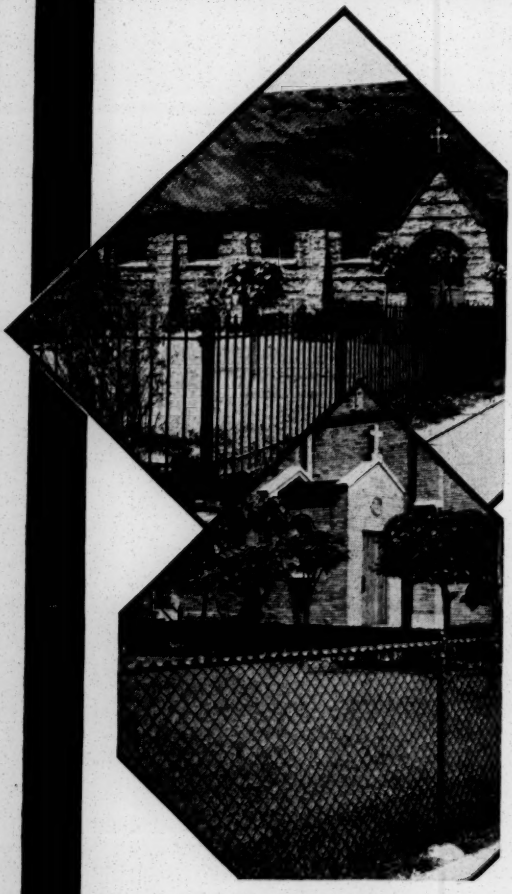

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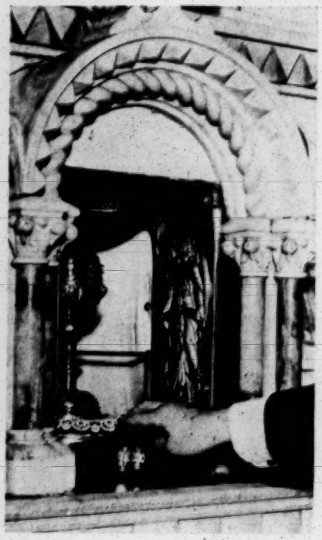

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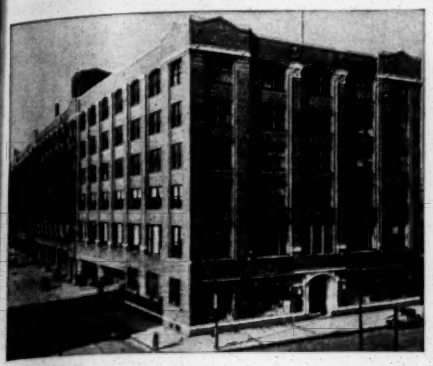

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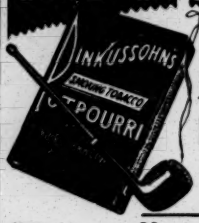

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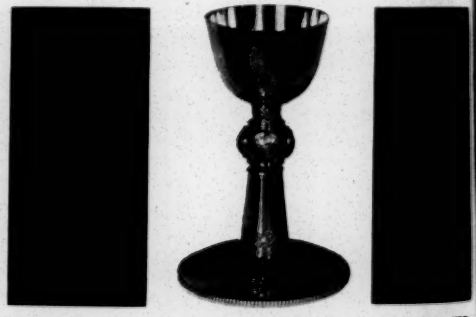

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